

1990-1994-Branch & Executive Minutes – Forward Group

1990

1990-03Mar7	Minutes of FG: NDP reports, Kopyto/Codina cases, NDP ridings
1990-04Apr18a	Minutes of FG: Educational, NDP Left Caucus, Metro NDP
1990-07July11	Minutes of FG: Correspondence, Educational
1990-07July25	Minutes of FG: NDP ridings, Kopyto/Codina Defence Campaign
1990-08Aug9	Minutes of FG: NDP ridings, Left Caucus
1990-08Aug22	Minutes of FG: Kopyto Case
1990-09Sept12a	Minutes of FG: Socialist Challenge, Left Caucus
1990-10Oct10a	Minutes of FG: Publication of a “Bulletin,” Membership
1990-10Oct29a	Minutes of FG: Educational
1990-11Nov12	Minutes of FG: Correspondence, NDP & Left Caucus, Kopyto/Codina
1990-11Nov26a	Minutes of FG: Correspondence, NDP reports

1991

1991-Jan21a	(Hand notes – Minutes by LB): Membership, Joint FG-SC meeting
1991-02Feb4a	Minutes of FG: Membership, Educational
1991-02Feb18a	Minutes of FG: S.C.-Forward meeting; NDP report – ridings, LC
1991-0Mar2a	Minutes of FG: Correspondence, Membership, NDP convention report
1991-03Mar18a	Minutes of FG: NDP Left Caucus & federal convention
1991-04Apr17a	Minutes of FG: Correspondence
1991-05May1a	Minutes of FG: Membership
1991-05May29a	Minutes of FG: Correspondence
1991-06June12a	Minutes of FG: Membership, Contacts,
1991-06June26a	Minutes of FG: Correspondence, Membership

1991-07July10	Minutes of FG: Correspondence
1991-07July24a	Minutes of FG: Correspondence
1991-08Aug7a	Minutes of FG: Correspondence, Membership, Educational
1991-08Aug21	Minutes of FG: Membership & Contacts; NDP/Left Caucus
1991-09Sept4	Minutes of FG: NDP Left Caucus, Kopyto/Codina Defence
1991-09Sept18a	Minutes of FG: Correspondence with “Festival of the Left”, Membership
1991-10Oct2	Minutes of FG: Membership & Contacts; NDP (Bedard notes attached)
1991-10Oct16a	Minutes of FG: Membership & Contacts
*1991-Oct99	<i>(undated Minute notes by Lois Bedard found here – 5 pp., page 1 missing)</i>
1991-11Nov27a	Minutes of FG: Reports on OFL conference, NDP Provincial council
*1991-Dec27	<i>(Minute notes by Lois Bedard + party notice attached)</i>

1992

1992-01Jan8	Minutes of FG: NDP general discussion, Kopyto/Codina Defense
1992-01Jan22	<i>(dated 1991 in error)</i> Minutes of FG: Educational, NDP Report, Kopyto/Codina Defence
1992-02Feb5	Minutes of FG: NDP Left Caucus; proposition at CLC convention
1992-02Feb19a	Minutes of FG: Membership & Contacts, NDP report
1992-03Mar4a	Minutes of FG: NDP & Left Caucus
1992-03Mar25a	Minutes of FG: Membership, NDP and Left Caucus
1992-04Apr22a	Minutes of FG: Membership, Future educational
1992-05May6a	Minutes of FG: Correspondence, NDP Left Caucus
1992-06June25	Minutes of FG: NDP convention discussion, Left Caucus
1992-07July9	Minutes of FG: NDP Left Caucus BBQ, Codina/Kopyto Defence
1992-08Aug6a	Minutes of FG: Educational, NDP report: ridings

1992-08Aug20a	Minutes of FG: NDP report: ridings
1992-09Sept17	Minutes of FG: NDP Report -- LC panel on referendum, Educational

1993

<i>*1993-Jan15</i>	<i>Notes of meeting by L. Bedard (4 pp)</i>
1993-02Feb2a	Minutes of FG: Business arising out of (previous) Minutes
1993-06June00a	(undated, page 1 missing) p.2: Minutes of FG: Educational
1993-06June21a	Report to the FG: On the Left Caucus
<i>*1993-July5</i>	<i>Minutes of FG not available (adopted Oct. 5)</i>
<i>*1993-July22</i>	<i>Memo of FG: not available (adopted Oct. 5)</i>
<i>*1993-Sept21</i>	<i>Minutes of FG not available (adopted Oct.5 as amended)</i>
1993-10Oct5a	Minutes of FG: Past Minutes, Business arising: NDP riding report
1993-11Nov2a	Minutes of FG: FG discussion on election results: Reform Party
1993-12Dec15a	Minutes of FG: Correspondence, Finances (LC Newsletter debt)

1994

1994-01Jan8a	Minutes of FG: Membership, Correspondence, NDP
1994-01Jan24a	Minutes of FG: Business arising: NDP; Correspondence
<i>*1994-May3</i>	<i>Notes of FG meeting in archive</i>
<i>*1994-June28</i>	<i>Minutes of FG meeting not available</i>
<i>*1994-July26</i>	<i>Minutes of FG meeting not available</i>
1994-09Sept20a	Minutes of FG: Membership, Educational (Quebec elections)

Rough notes made at meeting of March 7, 1990

Attendance - 7

Minutes

Membership and Contacts - Dennis Bekaros.

Educational Report on Ross. by Lois.

Dues and Pledges.

NDP reports - Left Caucus [30 hours work. line trailing]

- other NDP.

Alberta Left Caucus. Newsletter. Edmonton meeting.

meeting MARCH 27 at Harry on Newsletter. Haven's guest books from Manfred.

Phone people for PROVINCIAL COUNCIL (Lord). FEDERAL COUNCIL -

Kopy to - Cedina cases.

Report on the Forum. 4 groups.

Calendar

New Business -

- ① Evaluation of Educationalists.
- ② Locke.

Lois leaving on Saturday for CUBA. 2 PM to 4 PM visiting hours.

Oriole - a search for candidates. Terry Farrell, a black radical. High Park St. Wensea - on food banks. [Elaine Treaba]

Charges against Anoriz May 1.

Forum to be April 27^{FRI}. 2 per person. Bolshevik Tendency, 1 Sete. - at headquarters of Portuguese Canadian Association. Lord reported on Salvador.

Friday -
SATURDAY

25 adults, Party on the 17th

Wednesday April 18th '90

Chair Art Gray.

Secretary Harry Kopyto

M+R?
Forum?

Attendance - absent with reason Ross, Jeff, Jim, John Darling.
John Glean? couldn't be here. DAVE TOMCZAK was ill, phoned.

Minutes of last meeting not available - Postponed.

CORRESPONDENCE - (Harry Payne not answered yet).

Article in Monthly Review, comment by Harry Kopyto.

Article on Leo Panitch article on Mitterand.

- moved to photocopy and distribute the articles sent by Heaps for next meeting.

Membership and Contacts - Bill Clinton. - a Jamaican contact, ^{Chris} Lennon.
Art Kershaw.

Discussion on Educational - on Lois' educational of last week.
Lois - Bill - Gordon.

Next Educational - Moved by Harry K. that we postpone the document on east Europe until the next meeting, where it will be the educational.

EDUCATIONAL Bill Clinton.

ANGIE - on the Christian Democratic. On German identity.

JOE - support socialist unification.

LOIS - impact of the desertion of the leadership.

HARRY K - absence of a revolutionary leadership. Revival of SED near the end of the campaign.

GORD. - on the economy

Bill Clinton - New Forum

NDP - Left Caucus newsletter moving forward. (Gord). Steering committee continuing. To be an article on Harry Kopyto.

Lois reported usurping of the MTAC structure SAT. Registration 9 o'clock at Toronto City Hall. TDN - Earth Day.

Kopyto & Codina - we met last Thursday. Harry's appeal in the fall.
Some professors have expressed sympathy. There will be another article in
the Saw-Union News. ^{ANGIE CODINA -} [MAY 1st Osgood Hall 10³⁰ AM.].
^{TUESDAY}

Reveron Inquest Committee.

"MARXIST FORUM" - Communist Party is now involved.

Monday meeting to plan. (Gord) - invite the anarchists. We want a native discussion
with the anarchists as well as other groups.

Reading of minutes of April 5 deferred.

CALENDAR
- Saturday conference 9 AM on. at City Hall.

- Sunday (Earth Day)

- Monday (Marxist Forum planning)

Wed - Oriole NDP

Sat. April 28 - Weisbroder group entertainment, etc.

Tuesday - Angie in Court

Wed - branch meeting of Forward.

Thursday - MAY 3 - dinner dance for Audrey Mc Jackson.

Left Caucus financial statement.

Motion to adjourn by Harry. Broke up 11³⁰. Bill and Lois and
I talked awhile longer, to about 11⁴⁵.

Minutes of Forward Group, Wd. Jul 11/90

Place: Art Grey's 8:15 pm

Chair: Harry K.

Secty: John D.

Agenda: Adopted as proposed

Attendance: Present: Harry, John D. Gord, Joe, John G., Lois

Absent with reason: Art, Ross. Absent without reason:

Jeff, Jim, Robert, Tomszak

Minutes: Minutes of June 13 read and adopted as amended.

Minutes of June 28 not available. M/C to defer.

Gord M/C elect a new secretary as Jim has indicated he must resign. John D. elected.

Correspondence: John D. read notice in latest Bulletin in Defence of Marxism, published by the F.I.T., announcing that the SWP and its international allies have broken from the Fourth International. No further details available at this time.

John G. proposed we issue a statement of affirmation of our allegiance to the F.I. Our expression of solidarity would trace our roots to the founders and leading proponents of Trotskyism in Canada up to and including Ross Dowson.

Harry and John D. to draw up statement, John G. to maintain contact with Socialist Action.

Membership & Contacts: Gord reported on Mike D.

Educational: John G. on the Canadian CP in crisis today.

(M/C to excuse John G. after educational)

NDP: Gord reported letter from Barb Mercereau supporting Harry and regretting lack of participation in Left Caucus.

Discussion on Lennox Farrell *for*

Discussion on agenda of L.C. meeting 1:30 pm at Social Saturday July 21. Discussion possible fall conference before February convention. Next Newsletter election evaluation issue in fall.

Report of Lennox Farrell meeting attended by 65, strong speeches, good media.

Gord reported we missed Dan Heap meeting on Future of Socialism

Kopyto/Codina Cases: Harry reported he was prevented from presenting evidence at his police custody death inquest hearing, which ended up being a whitewash.

Calendar read,

Adjournment at 11:15 pm

*Adopted as read
July 24/90
751.137 (1/4)*

Minutes of Forward Group, Wed. Jul 25/90

Place: Art Grey's 8:30 pm

Chair: Art G.

Secty: John D.

Agenda: Adopted as proposed

Attendance: Present: Harry, John D. Gord, Lois B., Art G., Angie C.

Absent with reason: Jim A., Joe S. Absent without reason: Homily, Dave T., John G.

Minutes: Minutes of July 11 read and adopted.

Business arising out of Minutes: Harry read draft of statement of solidarity to FI. Discussion and amendments.

M/C to have Harry distribute final draft to comrades before sending off.

Membership & Contacts: Gord reported Bill C. is distributing LC newsletter tonite at St.A and P riding meeting.

Angie requested 3 weeks leave of absence to travel outside country.

Correspondence: Lois reported that 1985 letter from Stu declining membership in ASA (Weisleder group) was given to her at LC social last weekend, to be filed. Gord's opinion is that Stu still holds cynical views and is not a live contact of the movement. Discussion on Betty Jane, also present at social, who expresses interest in group and should be regarded as a contact.

Educational: Harry in his and Joe S.s proposed position on the PLO, that we should change our position to one of no support. Discussion was limited and will continue.

NDP : Ridings: Gord reported on production of first leaflet for Lennox Farrell campaign. Planning a rally for African-Canadian NDP candidates in August.

Lois reported on NDP ecology picnic at High Park, rained out but held in nearby school.

Reported Layton group meeting on alternative to Railway Lands development Tues. 31st. Harry and Angie will attend.

Harry reported on Layton birthday party at local club, a celebration of co-op movement, attended by a lot of young activists.

Kopyto/Codina Defence Campaign: Harry reported he is busy selling house, running practices and needs help organizing support for appeal coming up on Oct. 18. Needs team to get letters out to Law Union and CLA. Gord to consult with Harry.

New Business: Harry read Globe clipping on police blockade at Oka, noting Native refusal to use courts but possibility of initiating third party action in their support.

Discussion in involving Farrell and Roach.

Lois reported High Park NDP petition in support of Oka Band.

Lois brought up FI appeal for funds, Art read statement.

Notice of Motion for next meeting.

Calendar: read

Adjournment: at 11:10 pm

Ca. ag 04' 90 (Aug. 9, 1990)

Chair Act Day - Secretary John Darling. to order 8²⁵.

Dave, Horvitz. (Jim Anderson working).

Minutes of July 11 -

Minutes accepted.

Letter offering our support of IV International by Kopyto and Darling.

- whether Cannon was founder, or spectator.

- MEMBERSHIP & CONTACTS - Bill Clinton doing a distribution at St A + P meeting - - Angie leaving for 3 weeks for Hong Kong August 4.

CORRESPONDENCE - Stu Sinclair. - sent a letter from 13 years ago, 1975.

Betty

(Break).

Educational. - Hanyon PLO.

NDP - rides - Lennox Farrell leaflet.

Nomination meeting in St. Andrew - St. Patrick.

Carol Ann Wright - in St George - St David.

- Early announcement of elections.

- Left Laneur - barbecue at Lord's. People who donated food, - profit \$5.
+ \$20 from Fred - total \$95. - People don't see urgency.

NDP picnic. Meeting on Railway lands, program of Layton, Chow.

- Harry Kopyto defence committee - Angie Codina. Harry will have to sell the house. Overwhelmed with financial pressures. Appeal October 18th.

New Business -

Notice of motion of aid to Fourth International.

Calendar - Sunday campaign committee meeting.

31st Tuesday - housing on the Railway lands.

Aug 6 Thursday. Aug 8 branch meeting.

Adjournment.

FORWARD MEETING - TORONTO
AUGUST 22, 1990

Chair - John Glenn, Minutes taken by Jeff Smith

Attendance: Gord Doctorow, Jeff Smith, Harry Kopyto, Lois Bedard & Joe Steinbock.

Absent with reason: Jim Anderson, Art Grey, John Darling and Angie Cordina.

Minutes of last meeting: M/C Since the minutes of the last meeting are unavailable, they will be tabled.

Membership and Contacts: Lois reports that we have renewed the group's sub to *Labour Focus on Eastern Europe*.

Gord reports that Bill has given him a name of a possible contact in Scarborough - Ellesmere.

Educational: Open discussions on Iraq and the provincial election campaign

-Next educational to be presented by John Glenn on the provincial campaign.

Kopyto Case: A petition to reinstate Harry will be circulated with the help of the Law Union. Roach, Deljunko, Markin and Angie are working on the defence.

Other Business: M/C to send \$250 to the USFI for Eastern European comrades.

Joe reported on a talk by Chief Peters presented by Socialist Challenge.

Ross is now at Queen Elizabeth Hospital in room 403.

M/C Next meeting will be September 12.

M/C Adjournment 10:45.

Meeting of Forward Group Wednesday September 12, 1990

Agenda - read, moved to adopt ac

John Darling ^{late} away with reason. Angie will be late.

James Anderson, Jeff Smith

James Anderson can't come Wednesday

Moved by God to seat Lane Boyd.

CORRESPONDENCE - Letter to the Fourth International. Donation of \$250 cash.

IRAN - IRAP.

Socialist Challenge.

Minutes of the last meeting are not available (three weeks ago). - Got them 845

Memberships and Contacts - Lois mentioned Kathy ^{BEAMAN} Berman, once with Pat Schultz.

Lennox Farrell - discussion. Involvement in NDP deepening. From Trinidad. Rental

Phone call to myself; yesterday afternoon. Black activists prominent in Toronto.

Jeff Smith came 845 or so. He had the minutes of August 22.

Suggestion of shifting the meeting to a different night. Jeff will consult with Jim.

CONTACTS - SOCIALIST CHALLENGE. ~~Not that~~ discussion of Wessledder, his group, and their policies.

Motion by Harry that we ^{approach} ~~communicate in~~ ~~target~~ Socialist Challenge with a response to ~~propose~~ their initiative.

Motion by Harry that we ~~approach~~ the Forward Group formally approach Socialist Challenge with a view to holding a joint membership meeting to exchange information and ideas. CARRIED, UNANIMOUS.

Motion that Harry and John Glenn attend their forum and approach them. Carried.

Minutes of August 22 adopted as read. [August 8 minutes tabled].

Educational delivered by John Glenn on the past provincial election.
No Discussion followed

Left caucus

Good ~~reputation~~ feels that the L.C. should link up ^{with} community groups to rally Oct 1 in solidarity ^{with} NDP.

w/c to endorse Gord's report

New Business: Harry puts forward Stojars:

- End Canadian Complicity

bring back Cdn ships

re-convene parliament

~~Mark V~~

Adjourn

w/c adjournment 11:30 Next educational re. Iraq
~~a contract~~

(Next meeting - NDP Paper)

Forward Group

Meeting of Wednesday, October 10, 1990.

Chairman, John Glenn. Secretary, Art Gray.

Meeting called to order about 8¹⁵ PM.

ATTENDANCE - Gord, Joe, Harry, Bob Kasher, Lois, Art Gray, John Glenn.
Absent with reason - Angie, Jeff, Jim Anderson, Ross. John Darling has the flu and did not come.

MINUTES of the previous meeting were not available and were deferred.

CORRESPONDENCE - Material in a new issue of "Socialist Action" and in Bulletin/DOM was discussed. A letter from Harry Payne was read.

Discussion of a possible bulletin followed. It might help to formulate our own positions. We do not really have a public face. Lois pointed out that ~~it should be within the limits of the NDP.~~ ^{we should protect our right to} Harry Payne might be asked to submit an article on the situation in Manitoba. We should aim at an analytical bulletin. Gord suggested setting up a subcommittee to prepare an internal bulletin for the Forward Group.

MOTION - that a subcommittee be appointed to investigate the production of an internal Forward Group bulletin, outlining our positions. It is projected to ~~complete~~ produce it this fall. Moved by Gord, seconded by Joe. Carried unanimously.

The committee will be composed of Lois, Harry, Bob and Jeff Smith (who was not present), and Lois will chair the committee.

Gord proposed that there should be an explanatory introduction, then a reprint of an article by Ross Dowson, and an article on the current NDP situation.

The committee will meet a week from today.

MEMBERSHIP and CONTACTS - Bob is moving about a good deal. MOVED by Gord that Bob Kasher be made a member at large. Carried.

Lois reported on Ross's condition. He is recovering from an operation for a urinary stone. He is not responding too well and seems demoralized. He is not responding well to speech therapy, and cannot seem to initiate actions.

There was a meeting with the "Socialist Challenge" group. Joe Steinbock reported on it. Harry spoke strongly for involvement in the NDP. John Glenn and Fred Callaghan were there. It was a friendly and open discussion on the orientation to the N.D.P. Harry gave a good speech.

OVER

Barry Weisboder's comments were mostly rather good.

(Harry) - We got a hearing. We should try to meet with them whenever possible.

(Lois) - spoke on the CARAL situation. The OCAC group are undermining CARAL. Actually the NDP position is correct.

EDUCATIONAL - Harry Kopyto spoke on the Iraq crisis. There is a vast commitment of American and allied forces. The U.S.A. is reasserting its dominance of the area. The Swedish section of the Fourth International has called for an Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait. The Iraqi regime is basically a statist military clique. Egypt's Nasser came to power in an anti-imperialist struggle. Saddam Hussein did not. He has made some concessions to the masses, using the oil revenue to finance them. The U.S.A. supported Iraq against Iran during the Iran-Iraq war. Iraq's oil money was recycled to the West through arms purchases. The war left Iraq \$60 billion in debt, and with a lowered living standard.

QUESTION PERIOD - Lois raised U.S. capitalism's oil motivation. Bob Kosher spoke. Art Gray gave a summary history of development of the Kuwait "state." Lois spoke again, also Joe.

NDP - the High Park-Swansea NDP meets next Tuesday; Elaine Lierba will explain government policy. The Provincial Council meets October 20th and 21st.

KOPYTO-CODINA CASE - There has been another adjournment of Harry's disbarment case, with Harry's consent, due to Angie's absence in Hong Kong. The Legal Aid fund has now paid Harry \$90,000.

CALENDAR - Friday, meeting of the Law Union; also another meeting will have Elijah Harper as speaker. Saturday, a pro-choice demonstration.

Tuesday, High Park NDP and the provincial council meeting on the 20th and 21st.

NEXT BRANCH MEETING - will be on Monday October 29th.

October 29, 1990

FORWARD GROUP MEETING

- Attendance : late with reason Joe S. present and Lois, Jim, Jeff, Harry.
- A. W/o. Reason John Glenn, John Darling, Dave T.
- A. W. R. Homily, Art 6., Angie Codina.
- Minutes + Correspondence : M/c to adopt.
- Minutes : of October 10/1990.
- Contacts + Membership : M/c to drop Dave T. to status of a sympathizer.
- Educational : M/c to discuss internal bulletin and have a hatbox if time allows.
- M/c to hold educational on the role of labour parties.
- M/c to have Jeff contact John D. with view to have him give educational at next meeting on November 12, 1990.
- M/c to have educational trotshipist revolutioning grouplets including F. I.T. + S. W. P.
- M/c to have V. Jeff Smith present above educational.
- M/c to publish triennially a Discussion Bulter of the Forward Group with the deadline for the first issue December 15 and containing articles line up as presented by Jeff Smith in his report.

October 30, 1990
M/c to have educational Committee of 3
supervise the production of the Bulter and
report to the Branch Committee members
elected: Lois Harry Kopyto Jeff.

N D P

: Provincial Council Gord gave report
indicating NDP convention date is March 2,
3, 4.

Deadline for Resolutions is January 15, 1990.

Gord reports on efforts to promote NDP paper
and in party-government basion committee.

Report on Left Concur Conference by Lios Bedard

Lois reported in workshops and structure of
Left Concur Conference November 30 sec 1.

Harry K. reported on McLaugh Lois call for a
constituent assembly.

Joe Stainbok reported on meeting where Elaine
Ziemba spoke to UJPO.

Kopyto/
Codina report

: On Kopyto Legal Aid settlement. Report on
revival of charger against Angie.

Calender

: Read and meeting adjourned 11:10 p.m.

Minutes of Forward Group Meeting: Mon. Nov.12/90 8:30PM

Art G.'s place.

Chair: John G.

Secretary: John D.

Agenda: Adopted as proposed.

Attendance: Present: John G., John D., Gord D., Lois B., Harry K., Angie C., Joe. Absent: Jeff, Jim. Out of town: Robert K., Art

Minutes: of meeting Oct. 10 re-read, adopted at previous meeting.

Minutes of Oct. 29 read as information by Harry.

Correspondence: Harry reported that a Mr. Aker in Toronto contacted him recently after having tried to contact Ross. An ex-Stalinist, he wishes to share information he has that Canadian Stalinists, during the Spanish Civil War, fingered Canadian Trotskyists and were complicit in their deaths. Discussion followed regarding whom he might talk to in the movement today; suggested we put him in touch with Ruth Bullock.

Lois reported that Canadian Tribune has changed its format, and features an article by Charles Roach on the Greenhouse Effect in its last edition.

Membership & Contacts: Gord reported on Harry P. in Winnipeg.

Treasurer's Report: Harry reported we received an acknowledgement from Livio Maitan for the \$250 donation we sent to the FI.

A budget is required for the Socialist Bulletin's publication year, and appropriate financial contributions from comrades (and perhaps contacts) will be determined.

Break

Educational: John D. not ready with Social Democracy in Power educational. M/C to delay 2 weeks, and postpone Jeff's educational likewise 2 weeks.

NPD & Left Caucus: Gord reported on Conference organization. The Friday night forum delayed until the Friday before Provincial Council. U. of T. campus location set up. Resolutions coming in. Brochure corrections will be made tomorrow and printing will be ready tomorrow evening for mailing. We need a crew of 5 or 6.

Discussion on personnel for workshop chairpersons.

Harry will act as press co-ordinator.

LC newsletter to follow shortly.

Kopyto-Codina Cases: Angie reported that Law Society has come up with a new revised charge against her, replacing the old '89 complaint. Angie feels she has a strong argument of abuse of process against her.

Discussion on her desire to obtain the services of a lawyer like Morris Manning, who would give the case a high profile and good chance of guaranteeing a favourable outcome. Differing view by Harry that mobilization around political campaign still possible. Discussion on unsuitable aspects of Manning as counsel. *(because of his association with anti-union lawsuit).*

M/C Lois defer decision, consult with political friends and allies before deciding Forward Group policy.

New Business: Harry Notice of Motion we discuss New Years Eve gathering.

PTO

Minutes page 2

Gord reported on York Firebrand, gave critique on contents. Some excellent articles but some very weak ones as well, perhaps due to deadlines.

Gord also reported on Alberta LC developments, some not very positive to left. This highlights importance of our experience with gov't in power in Ontario.

Lois reported on Bill C's problems, and her input.

Calendar: read and

Adjournment: at 11:20 pm.

~~LET~~

FORWARD ~~NOV~~ NOV 26 '90

Chair - John G sec. Jeff
Present: John G, Jeff, Harry, Gord, Art, Lois, Joe
Absent - Carson, Ross, Washer

M/c table minutes of last meeting.

Correspondance: we received a letter from SC. Proposal
joint SC/Forward meeting to discuss prospects
re. USFI.

M/c we propose Jan ~~23~~ 17 or 21 for meeting

M/c we prepare a report on the meeting
that Gord represent it to us to discuss it.

Lois reports that Ross' condition remains stable. Very
little verbal skills.

M/c to response budget report on bulletin until
next meeting.

NDR

Gord reported black advisory cttee. Brunch. +ve feeling toward NDP.

Lois reported on U of T NDP. anti-racism discussion.

Report from Harry sk A+P meeting, Harry ^{will be a} ~~electoral~~ delegate

Jeff reported on Glendon Anti-war network which formed
last week under GND, SCMA+IS. activists

M/c That Art Gray ~~respond~~ write to
Socialist Action re. its historical errors on
the formations of Iraq & Kuwait.

Left Caucus

~~Further discussion re. organization of the Left Caucus~~
Further discussion re. organization + tasks for L.C. Conference.

M/C To postpone issuing of Left Caucus Newsletter
to January

M/C To postpone John D's educational until
next week

M/C To postpone treasurer's report until next week.

Gord reports that he was interviewed by CUI
on NDP victory.

(Notes by Lois Bedard)
(Jan 21, 1991)

- 1 The minutes of the January 21 1991 Forward Group Meeting held in Art Gray's apartment #912 on 407 Hamewood Avenue.
- 2 The meeting was called to order by Art Gray (presiding) at 8:30 PM with an attendance of Lord Doctorow, John Glenn, John Darling, and Lois Bedard. At that time Lois Bedard agreed to keep the minutes.
- 3 Absent with reason Hominy and Ross Dawson
Late Harry, Angry, Joe, Jeff and Jim
Kopyto, Codina, Stembak, Smith, Anderson
- 4 The minutes of December 1990 were tabled to the next meeting.
- 5 Membership and Contacts one would think would come from left wing activists or left caucuses. On marches the left wing activists are not interested in the NDP. Lennon Farrell may be a Left Caucus contact & Barry
6. Discussion on the joint meeting with Barry Weisleder's group to exchange views will take place on Monday February 4 at 7:30 PM sharp in Room 211 at the north east corner of College at Spadina.

Our plan is to have Lord Doctorow outline

- a) the past & present of the forward group noting the historical lineage from Morris Spectre Jack MacDonald and Youth radicals in the 60's.
- b) outline our affiliation to the 4th International and our adherence to Trotskyism.

Page 2

We are of the Leninist Trotsky faction with Mandel.
Our orientation to the NDP seeing it on the
way and in the way with the confluence

of the NDP and the union movement.
We ~~are~~ ^{identify with} Canadian nationalists in that we are
anti-US Imperialists We are against free trade
against continentalism

We are against Iraq intervention and
the war in the Gulf.
Le Quebec we agree to Quebec's nationalist
needs but support a Constituent Assembly
calling for a yes vote on the referendum.
Re current orientation, we focus on
politicizing the NDP Labour wing and
the building of a left wing in the unions.
In the earliest ^{championed by Harry Morgenstern} we led women's right to
chose, women's liberation, daycare and the
equal pay for equal work. We started & led OWW.
We led the NDP anti-war orientation during
the Vietnam war.

Harry Kopyto will address the Tasks Ahead as we
the Forward Group see it.
We are the socialists in the NDP establishing
connections with activists in the unions and the

NDP Reference will be made to the pamphlet
 LSA What it is and What it stands for
 and the pamphlet of the 60's entitled Our
 Strategic Orientation to the NDP. Although an
 open face may be self satisfying it is more important
 to establish contact with left activists in the
 labour movement

We believe that all Trotskyists should be
 with the action in the NDP, in the left
 campaign.

Moved/Carried by Gord/Joe that the proposed plan
 be carried out on Feb 4/91

John Darling suggested we add that our
 political orientation of reaching out to raise
 consciousness via challenge not criticism
 The only way to influence the trade unionists is
 via political action, — their bureaucratic
 control prevents other approaches

7. Educational

The educational of the Forward Group on
 Monday February 18 at 40 Homewood will be
 Ralph Miliband's Marxism and Politics and
 Parliamentary Socialism led by John Glenn

At 945pm we had a round table discussion of the War in the Persian Gulf.

The general ~~attitude~~ ^{analysis} was that we are experiencing a US Imperialist War. The NDP calls for ceasefire and let the sanctions work. The leader McLaughlin supports the troops but the Anti war correct slogan is to bring the Troops Home Now!

Let the Pan Arab nations determine ^{fight for self-} if they want to. We were reminded by Harry K. that the USSR did not use its power of veto to stop the UN and US led troops.

③ the Arabs should mobilize to settle the Palestinian question.

③ the New World Order of Bush must be stopped now. Withdraw the troops from the Gulf area.

Treasurer reports a bank balance around \$500.00

Left Caucus Report is attached with the Newsletter content and writers

Deadline for articles Feb 3/91

Layout & design Feb 5, 6.

Printing Feb 7 & 8th Mailing Feb 10

4 (b)

Left Caucus Newsletter

Decided January 17/91

Topics

G Left Caucus Conference	Lois Bidard
Manitoba Elections	Harry Payne
C Balance Sheet of ONDP	Gord Doctorow
R Oka Past, Present Future	Lennox Farrell
For an ONDP Newspaper	Harry Kopytc
Anti War Struggle & Middle East	Barbara Harry Kopytc
Refuseniks	
Role of the Provincial Council	Gord Doctorow
Constituency Assembly & Constitution	Harry Ken Baker
Quebec	Barry Weisleder

Deadlines

Copy to Gord Doctorow	Fri Feb 1
Editorial Committee meets	Feb 3, 4, 5 Sun Mon Tues
Production of Paper	Feb 5, 6, 7 Wed Thurs
Reproduction	Feb 8 & 9. Fri Sat
Mailing	Sun Feb 10

Delegates

Harry
Borden
Lues
Muni

Page 5

We will hold a Feb 22 meeting of delegates at
7:30 PM in Sandford Gleason Room 1105
At the Provincial Convention only Farrell and
Kopyto should be encouraged to run as Members
at Large

8. Kopyto Codina Case

Harry put on hold the idea of a large
structural meeting of the Lawyers or the Law Union
due to loss 1% of readership signed the
petition

Angie will be defended by ~~Harry~~ using
the Scot decision of 14 mos hiatus
pending cases dismissed. Angie was
first charged in 85, & 86 then charges withdrawn
and then Nov 89 "new" charges laid

9) Harry reported that a table at the Convention casts
10) Meeting adjourned at 11:00 PM on
a call by John Glenr

\$100 per riding
\$250 for non
party organ

(Feb 4)

5(A)

8. New Business

- [\$250 non party organ Feb 20
\$100 Riding

- Mandel Booklet "

John Glenn moved adjournment 1106.

Convention

Fri Feb 22
Fri March 1

LL Convention Meeting
Provincial Council Meeting
Post Meeting Left Caucus

Pre Convention Planning

1. Delegate Fees via riding early for Sealⁿ Book
2. Phone ONDP re tables Harry Kopyto
ONDP re room
UofT Alura re Blue Room for Feb 22/91
List of delegates.

3 Committees on Table Monitor

on Meeting Announcements
on Agenda for Feb 22
on

①

February 4, 1991 Branch Meeting
Chair John G. Conn Secretary: H. Kopyto

Attendance: A.C. 66

Present John D. John G. Zone B, Joe S.
Lois B, Harry K., Jeff S. Gnd D.
A.W.K. A. Codina, James Art. G.
Homely

Minutes ^{Come} Minutes of Jan 21 1991 meeting
adopted as amended

Memberships and Contacts

M/C to reschedule reschedule reschedule
reschedule meeting with S.C. group

M/C to have John G., Gnd Harry K.,
~~Jeff~~ Joe S. and Zone B attend, Lois B.

M/C Discussion of Clinton letter re Backer
in C.D.

Report by Jeff. S. on Koula

Educational: Harry Kopyto ~~led~~ led discussion
on ~~the~~ Iraq/US war

Jeff Smith gave report on
T.D.N. and Gordon teach-in. Contributions from
Zone, Gnd, Lois and other comrades. Zone
to be active in the anti-war Iraq war

(2)

ND.P

Harry reported on City NDP decision to run for Mayor and on NDP slate.

Grnd + Zone reported on their work in NDP. H.K. reported on St A + P riding meeting. (annual)

Grnd on reported on Left Caucus Newsletter. Lois suggested insert on Ontario issue. Feb 11 was suggested as date to go to printer.

New Business

Lois reported on ^{pro-choice} ~~abortion~~ victory and child care issue.

Calendar read and meeting adjourned 10:55 PM.

Feb 18 1991

Branch meeting

1 Chair Zone

2 secretary Harry

3 Attendance: ^{present} Jim, Jebb, Zone Joe, John, Gnd, Lois, Harry, Art. A.W.N. A.C. R.D.

4 Minutes Minutes of Feb 4, 1991 adopted as amended

5 Correspondence - various items of letters read by Lois to Left Caucus including friendly letter from Quinte NDP activist
 - H.K. reporter on Hollander-Reform letter re coalition meeting
 - Lois reported on amendments to charter submissions
 - Discussion of participating in Select Committee of Ontario in Confederation

6 Discussion in S.C. - Forward meeting

Report by Gnd Barry Elizabeth Tom ^{Baker} and B.A. McDermott were present from S.C. and canvassed the S.C.'s main areas of work + political program and also Barry's history of SA Trotskyism.

Mic to take responsibility for Nordel meeting and to operate ~~at~~ West in area of NDP on Convention, Ontario and May Day rally.

Mic to prepare structure for contents of Forward Bulletin at our post-convention meetings in March.

Mic that we discuss writing history of Canadian Trotskyism at our March meetings ^{in response to SC's "list" into}

7 NDP Report Gnd gave report on Oriole Riding. He is now vice-pres. + alternate to Prov. Council.

Harry K. to run for Left Caucus and Leonard Farrell will be endorsed. Harry to contact Graham Riding to get endorsement for Census.

nothing left to
 by interest group
 VISION to establish

Discussion of Left Caucus resolution strategy meeting on 22 Feb

Gnd outlined point strategy on for HK's Left Caucus for Candidates. Discussion followed. Harry

②

Harry to draft Conflict for discussion. Division of
Labor Established.
~~future~~

Crider / Kopyt Defense . . . Fed. Gov't making
effort to push March 19 for Aziz's
case.

Calendar read and meeting adjourned
at 11:19 PM

March 3 1991

Chair Art
Sec. Hank.

Attendees: J. S. L. D. J. G. H. K. A. G.

A. W. R. C. D. R. D. J. D.

Notes were given that
Art Gray's Meeting of the Forward Group on the
next 8 weeks will take place at apt 1501, 40
Homerwood Ave 730. PM Code 126

Minutes + Correspondence

Minutes adopted as read

Notes/discuss response to Barry's ^{sketch on T. T. Shyng in} meeting & next Forward Group
Meeting. 18 Newsletter news + 28 Left Cancer news
were gathered at the convention.

Membership + Contacts

Fred Wilson renewed as a contact

5 subs for Left Cancer received

NDP

MIC to defer John G. Lewis' educational to
next meeting

NDP treasurer's report given: Contributions were received

NDP

Report by Hank Kopyt making in
convention. He presented a summary ~~paper~~
most of a paper written in collaboration with
God for the purpose of having the line
adopted.

MIC to endorse ^{second} two of Hank's

presentation

Report by Art Gray on Rosedale
federal meeting. A Federal conven-
tion in June will be in Nova Scotia 200.00
delegate fee

Discussion on Left Cancer and
need for meeting in convention

Coding/Kyfa Defense Committee - Coding Immigration
Charge to be heard on 19~~th~~ March. No publicity
but comrades asked to attend

New Business HK + J.B. reported
on discussions with S.E. members
Gordell not coming. discussion of Bill Clark
and some other contacts in town

Gordwill Reports' on Harry's mother and
Ron D.

Calendar read and meeting adjourned
10:38

① Branch meeting
March 18, 1991

Chair John Glen sec H.K.

Attendance J.C. G.D. H.K. J.S. L.B.

A.W.R. & A.C. A.G.

Consensus no report

Members sig + Contacts

MIC to invite Loun Maethi to
steering committee meeting ~~and~~ ^{Loft Caucus} H.K. to
speak to her + report back

Motion to organize meeting to ^{plan} ~~publish~~ on
bulletin on Monday March 21 at Lois's.

~~NDP~~ +

NDP Loft Caucus

We had MIC that we call on
L.C. steering committee meeting ^{April 28 at 8:00pm} to plan
a public meeting on the convention at
Lois's. we should consider Jason
28th Baines, Lenny Favell and others

federal convention

Pelletier, plant shutdowns
+ workers control resolutions as well
as NATO and self-determination
for Quebec are key. we should get
a declaration for an independent + sovereign
Canada adopted at convention.

②

New Business

- Lois announced ~~the~~ series of meetings on tenants rights.

- H.K. reported on distribution of Newsletter at anti-unemployment demo on Saturday

Lois ~~report~~ on meeting of I.W.O. rally and ~~Shawna~~ ^{Shawna} Hall's anti-fund-raising speech.

H.K. to refer discussion of Banjo's ~~besting~~ sketch besting

"Y Canadian Tradition to Monday Bulletin discussion meeting

Discussion of Komo's defense to

H.K. to call +)

express solidarity and suggest he is being sacrificed to insurance companies.

Calender Wed meeting adjourn

April 17, 1991

①

Chair: Joe

Secretary: Harry

Attendance

away with reason. Ross Jeff, Angie
present Joe, Lois, John G. Gnd, Harry

Minutes of Meeting of March 18/91 read and
adopted

Discussion of business arising from minutes

Lois reported on lineup for Bulletin.
Joe reported on typing. Asked
ask zone to help type.

Correspondence

Report on paper called The
Organizer seeking to found labor
party paper.

Motion to refer issue of submitting
article on to symposium on Crisis of Socialism
to be published by socialist scholars conference
to Bulletin editorial Board

Membership + Contacts Motion to send observers to FIC convention
H.K. and John D.

Membership + Contacts ^{H.K.} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~proposed~~ a motion for a
social for comrades + close contacts.

at 6rd's in May 25th late afternoon. ④

Educational John Glenn in social -
Democracy

Future education^{ONPL}: prospects for political revolution
in workers states. H.K. byine
Crisis of Canadian Confederation - Lois

NOP - ~~Left Caucus~~ 6rd report in his federal
riding meeting. Reported on delegates
elected and all but one left resolutions
prepared by Harry K posed
Report in Left Caucus meeting
and Layton Conference in May.

A.C. / H.K. Depres Committee - report on charges vs AC
+ law society blocking of
prosecuting case until immigration
charges dealt with

New Business - report on audit of ~~H.K.~~ Rord's
files in A.C.

Calendar read + meeting adjourned

Meeting adjourned 11.06 P.M.

①

Branch Meeting

May 1/91

Chair John G.

sec H.K.

attendance present AC L.B. J.C. G.D.
H.K. J. SM

A.W.R. Ron D.

A.W.R. Hornby John D.

Minutes + M/C propose to ask Jeff to give
correspondence John D's place to SC/65
convention motion to give shut greeting to
of solidarity French translat-
ation by A.C.

Membership and Contacts

- M/C to hold educational
May 25 on transitional
program +

its implications on the
NDP to be given by Gord

- Evaluation of SC May Day

Celebration. Impressive united front
but disparate and Weisleder's speech was
ultraleft + abstract and no transitional demands
and no recognition of Canadian struggle

EDUCATIONAL Report by HK on Alexa
Educational by Lois on Constitutional
discussion

②

Mc to ask Jeff to present his
paper on roots of Stalinism at the
29 May meeting

NDP

Left Caucus

Discussion of May 17/91 meeting

Harry may not speak. Comrades
to participate actively from the floor

Carl reported on North York
Municipal Ed meeting

Federal Riding - John Glen will
be member-at-large

H.K. reported looking Left Caucus
table at federal convention

Discussion of budget. Comrades
agreed on a program of critical support
of budget.

H.K. - Codina Defence Report

A.C. to launch lawsuit against Law
Society for harassment.

Mc to adopt report

New Business

- reports on upcoming events

Calendar read and meeting adjourned
at 11:35 PM

FORWARD GROUP MEETING MAY 29, 1991

- (i) Chairperson: Joe Steinbok
- (ii) Secretary: Harry Kopyto
- (iii) Attendance: Present: Joe, Harry, Lois, Gord, Art, Jeff
Away with reason: John Glenn, Homily, Angie, Jim
- (iv) Minutes: Motion carried to adopt as amended
- (v) Correspondence
- Gord reported on Mateline's suggestion for archives of Trotsky's material. He proposed a project to gather archival material on Canadian Trotskyism and report on Ross's archives in Ottawa. He suggested a report back to the branch meeting. Lois and Art were selected to look into this.
 - Motion carried to ask Bulletin readers and contacts to respond regarding contributing to a Canadian Trotskyism archive project. Lois reported on current publications received by her.
 - Motion carried to exchange copies published by ~~the Idem~~ ^{OF IDOM} published by the F.I.T.
 - Motion carried to discuss response to Weisleder communication regarding Forward Group cooperation under separate item.
 - Motion carried to substitute Harry in place of Gord as partner ~~and~~ ^{IN} Forward Publishing Company.
 - Harry reported on correspondence with Brown and Bustos, S.C. members that are quite approachable.
- (vi) Contacts and Social
- Motion carried to invite Steve ^{Spente} to the Saturday BBQ.
 - Report on Baines - not around militant group as suggested.
 - Motion carried to have Gord discuss BBQ on Saturday with Farrel. Division of labour for BBQ established.
BYOB: 2 PM - 6 PM.

Harry described an organization that was independentiste without labour party perspective provincially in Quebec, which saw NDP vote as anti-Quebec federally. English Canadian comrades are in disagreement over NDP and oppose constituent assembly and call for Quebec independence, not self-determination. Jeff reported that the organization was declining, was in disagreement on fundamental questions, that ~~he~~ had nothing to benefit by joining them and should attempt to recruit and influence people around ~~them~~ who have been attracted to the organization because of the attractiveness of the Fourth National.

Motion carried to participate in Saturday forum at convention in Halifax even though it contains wrong emphasis.

Motion to advise Barry that we are disappointed in their tendency and convention and have serious differences. We will work with them at the convention.

(viii) Educational

Motion carried to postpone Jeff's educational to next meeting.

(ix) Evaluation of Previous Educational

Previous educational by Harry on prospects for political revolution in the Soviet Union. Lois and Gord stated the educational did not offer any facts that provided an immediate perspective for anti-market socialist forces. There appears to be no such immediate prospects.

(x) Financial Report

Motion carried that Harry approach comrades for pledges at next meeting.

(xi) NDP Report

Federal: H.K. reported on preparation for federal convention. Gord spoke on Drevers and efforts of his writing to help them get to the convention. *ORIOLE*

Lenard Pettit Defense Committee
Motion carried that we write a new introduction to Ross's Constituent Assembly pamphlet and make available at the convention. *17*

Motion carried to publish a one page Ontario Left Caucus Newsletter for the convention to include the basic program of the Ontario Left Caucus and other material tailored to the Federal scene.

Jeff reported on the Willowdale riding meeting.

(xii) Discussion of June 21-23 Provincial Meeting

Harry and Joe to go to Windsor with Lennox. We will try to organize noon-hour discussion on planned shutdowns.

(xiii) Discussion of May 17 Left Caucus Rally

poorly attended but good level of discussion.

(xiv) Codina/Kopyto Defence Committee Report

17 MICHATON

Angie Codina blacklisted by Interpol and barred from residency in Macau. RCMP held her in custody when she was there and harassment based on immigration charge against her initiated by Law Society. Her application against the Law Society is in progress regarding harassment and will get coverage in Law Times. The Law Society is continuing to stymie Harry's appeal.

(xvi) New Business

Forward Bulletin is in progress.

(xvii) Calendar read and meeting adjourned 11:26 pm

FORWARD GROUP MEETING JUNE 12, 1991

(i) Chairperson: Jeff

(ii) Secretary: Harry

(iii) Attendance:

Absent with reason: John, Glenn

Present: Jeff, Angie, Gord, Lois, Harry, Art

(iv) Minutes

M/C to adopt minutes of May 29/91 as amended

(v) Correspondence

- Lois reported on correspondence from a group interested in forming a people's coalition in municipal issues. Could be a CP front.
- Gord read letter from Harry Paine regarding conjunctural situation and problems of building a revolutionary left.
- M/C to have educational next meeting discussing Harry's letter and building the movement.

(vi) Membership and Contacts

- Lois reported on Forward BBQ. Good food, weather and atmosphere worked in favour of an excellent event and high level of discussion. Good reports by Harry. Jeff's report good but not as well organized as at branch meeting. Jerry Chow's intervention focused on key issues--the NDP and the FI. We defended our non-participation in SC/GS and discussed our orientation to the NDP and our work there.
- Discussion of contacts present such as Blanche, Fred, Dave and others. M/C to table discussions regarding opening our meetings to sympathizers.
- Jeff reported on Jason Baines' project of organizing a counter demo to a business persons' demo against the Rae budget.
- (Correction) Baines is in Militant Group. Baines expropriated the use of the Left Caucus' name without permission to support the demo. Left Caucus comrades should raise it with him firmly but gently.
- M/C to table discussion of Jim.

WARD COUNCIL MEETING JUNE 12, 1991

- (11) - M/C to destroy all our copies of the Forward Group statement and reissue it with our traditional formula.

(vii) Educational

- M/C to postpone educational to next branch meeting.
- M/C to expedite business at next meeting to accommodate discussion on Harry's letter.

(viii) NDP Report

Federal: Harry Kopyto read report on NDP Convention. M/C to adopt line of report, conclusions and recommendations.

Municipal: Reports on Ward 6 and Metro endorsements and report on Ward 5.

(ix) Koptyo/Codina Defence Committee

report by Harry on:

- (i) suit vs. Law Society
- (ii) status of Angie's criminal proceedings
- (iii) correspondence with Hampton

(x) New Business

Lois reported on efforts to collect archives

(xi) Calendar read and meeting adjourned 11:13 pm

FORWARD GROUP MEETING

DATE: June 26, 1991

(i) Chairperson: Joe Steinbok

(ii) Secretary: Harry Kopyto

(iii) Attendance:

Present: Joe Steinbok, Gord Doctorow, Lois Bedard, Jeff Smith, Jim Anderson, John Glenn, Angie Codina, Harry Kopyto,

Absent with reason: John Darling, Art Gray

(iv) Minutes

M/C to adopt minutes of June 12/91

(v) Correspondence

Harry reported on contact with David Brown from Glace Bay, asking him for any literature outlining the basic positions of the Forward Group over the past few years. He confirmed that he along with five personal contacts of this Act ^{HAVE COME} from the branch of the Socialist Challenge group. We mailed him two copies of our report on the conventions, our pamphlet written by Ross on our NDP orientation and an outline of our organization on Norm's statement written by Bill Clinton and Gord Doctorow.

Lois reported on Jerry Houle and his efforts to collect archival material, to further his movement. He has been in touch with a number of persons including Dick Princip, Hal Engler, Jean Rands and Brian Belfont. The general reaction was enthusiastic and we are going to maintain contact with him on this project.

^{split the}
M/C to \$295 costs of reprinting Ross' pamphlet on the Constituent Assembly between the Forward Group and the Left Caucus.

^{1295.00}
(vi) Membership and Contacts

Bill Clinton expressed a desire to rejoin. Jeff Smith gave a detailed report about Bill Clinton's behaviour in relation to Jason Baines' and other persons during the social encounter including outlining his attitude to our movement. As Bill had indicated, a desire to rejoin after our bulletin had come out, it was proposed that we await formal application before determining what our line would be on Bill's application. M/C to this effect.

M/C to have further contact with Jason Baines with a view to bringing him closer to the movement.

M/C to have Gord, Jeff and Jim meet with Dimitrio and John Ballantyne with a view to "feeling these contacts out".

(vii) Educational

As Jeff seemed to have some difficulty locating a copy of this paper relating to the ~~strengths~~ in educational, m/c to postpone just educational on the origins of the cult of Stalinism and Leninism. *Jeff's*

M/C to postpone discussion on Harry's letter to next meeting as well, in light of the difficulties Harry and Gord had in contacting each other, to prepare joint submissions on this matter.

(vii) NDP Provincial Council Meeting

Comments
No comments. Attended the Windsor NDP Provincial Council Meeting. It seems, however, that the Chair was defeated on an issue involving the Keele Street dump site. A motion appears to have been also passed to give greater portion of funds to ridings.

Other issues around student minimum wage and tuition were raised at the council meeting. There appears to be a general agreement that our absence resulted in loss of opportunities.

M/C to send Brantford Riding an apology letter and have John Grimm meet him in order to carry forward with the project regarding a public meeting on ~~farm~~ shutdowns. *Plant*

Provincial Ridings

NDP support dropped ~~13%~~ *from 56-37%* in federal polls and Ontario in the last 3 months. NDP's emphasis ~~se~~ on a squeaky-clean image leaves it defenseless against sharpening class struggle. Since the decision to fire Kormos, the NDP leadership seems to have lost the initiative and the party appears to be drifting under the class struggle onslaught. ~~Rage's~~ *Rage's* control over the caucus has transformed the party into an autocratically controlled parliamentary caucus, in which the positive initiatives of various MPs appeared to be hampered by a ~~view~~ *view* of drawing rage. This has resulted in formalistic responses, gutting of press and public statements of members of Provincial Parliament and has left the NDP on the defensive.

Left Caucus

We should call a meeting to discuss current and future activities.

(ix) Bulletin

M/C to have Jeff and Jim to print out Ross' pamphlet on the NDP rather than waiting for John.

M/C to have Jeff ~~function~~ *serve* as editor of the bulletin.

(x) Kopyto/Codina Report

Angie reported that both courts of the Law Society were taking her application against the cut-off Legal Aid's future cases and placement bulletin advertising her seriously. Recommendation was endorsed that a defence advisory committee be set up.

Angie also reported on a small claims court action initiated against a former employee, who misrepresented her actions with the Law Society, the fact that the Federal Department of Justice had consented to her stained application in the Federal Court of Canada, her plans to revise her lawsuit against sheriff and other Law Society as a partner and her plan to try and reduce her bail on the immigration charge now set at \$50,000.

Harry reported on additional funds being given to him by Legal Aid for services performed over many years, which he did not have time to bill. M/C to hold off publicity on Legal Aid payment because of the likelihood that this could backfire.

(xi) New Business

M/C to start meetings at 7:30 pm and end at 10:30 pm, whether or not business had been completed.

Next meeting is July 10/91.

Calendar read and meeting adjourned at 11:32 pm.

FORWARD MEETING - TORONTO
JULY 10, 1991

Attendance: John Glenn, Gord Doctorow, Jim Anderson, Jeff Smith, Joe Steinbock, Harry Kopyto, Lois Beddard.

Absent with reason: Angie Codina.

Minutes of last meeting: m/c To table the minutes until next branch meeting.

Correspondence and membership: Harry Paine wrote that the Winnipeg group "Choices" seems to be based on spontaneity and lacks direction.

Harry reported that Paine is ^{re-evaluating} ~~becoming disenchanted~~ with Leninism and the Lenninist orientation.

Jeff reported that Ballentine is still with the Militant Tendency despite previous beliefs to the contrary.

Jeff reported that Baines and Gimeshi are initiating a "socialist caucus" in the ONDY, however they seem to have no intention of linking with the Left Caucus.

Gord reported that Farrell finds Trotsky's writings useful and remains a committed activist. We should keep him as a contact.

Harry reported that a small group will reproduce articles dealing with continental integration from *In Defence of Marxism* and *International Viewpoint* with a critique of Socialist Challenge's last Montreal convention.

A B.B.Q. will be held at Harry's for our contacts. They will include Z. Boyd, Baines, Boris ^{261c}, Ballentine, Dimitro, Chow, S. Shorter and Ross.

Treasurer's report: Once the printing bill is paid we will have \$769 in our account.

Bulletin: Jeff reports that bulletin remains incomplete and forecasts a release date in one month.

Other business: Lois reported that on the release of the coroner's report on police killings in Ontario. Harry suggests that we present this report to S.G. Farnham.

M/C adjourn ¹²h45. Next meeting will be in two weeks.

FORWARD MEETING - TORONTO

JULY 24, 1991

Chair: Kopyto; Secretary: Smith

Attendance: Kopyto, Glenn, Bedard, Doctorow, Smith

Absent with reason: Codina, Anderson, Steinbock, Darling, Grey, Kasher.

Minutes: M/C to adopt minutes of June 26 as amended

M/C to adopt minutes of July 10 as amended

Business arising out of minutes of June 26: John Glenn had yet to make contact with the Brantford riding re. plant shut-downs.

Correspondence:

The Canadian Peace Alliance will hold an inquiry starting Sept. 19 on Canadian defence policy vis-à-vis the Gulf war.

M/C that we should bring this inquiry to the attention of our riding associations.

Leonard Peltier Defence Committee is circulating a petition. Gord recommends that we circulate the petition.

Lois reported on correspondence re. the archival project. We have to locate the archives, what they pertain to and we must keep a tab on any new additions.

M/C that we send a letter to interested parties defining the need for a meeting to set up an agenda to establish a division of labour.

The International Institution for Study and Research has recently resurrected the journal "Notebooks for Study and Research"

The Jewish CP periphery Camp Naivelt is having a "festival" of the left where the left revolutionary groups will have a chance to put forward their programmes, tactics and histories.

M/C that we participate and that Harry will be the spokesperson from the Forward Group.

Harry distributed articles on continental imperialism as mentioned at the last meeting.

Membership and contacts:

Gord or Jeff will try to set up a data base of members of the group.

Report on Bill's funeral

M/C to reimburse Harry for the flowers.

M/C to have a short obituary in the Bulletin and to recommend a longer one in the Left Caucus newsletter.

The B.B.Q. will be held August 17 at Harry's at 14h00

Educational:

M/C to postpone educational on Paine's letter due to time restrictions.

M/C that the following educational be given by John G. on Yugoslavia. This will be followed by an educational on the New World Order and the Gulf War. This will be presented by Jim and Jeff.

NDP: Gord reports that Augimeri has refused to run under the NDP label and this seem to be indicative of other municipal candidates.

Left Caucus: Bobker is demoralized with the direction of socialism, bringing up the issue at inopportune times, and seems to be preparing to leave. Steering Committee meetings are increasingly poorly attended.

Kopyto Case: Overall responses to the July 15 article on Harry in the Toronto *Sun* tabloid are positive and the commentary has brought Harry's name back to the public mind despite the back-handed manner in which the article was written

Harry received a letter from Howard Hampton in which the Attorney General still refuses to become personally involved in the case.

M/C that we endorse Angie's settlement of the suit against Legal Aid and proceed with the job posting.

M/C that Kopyto agree to have Peter Symbolski apply to let Harry associate with him and challenge any opposition that may arise from the Law Society.

Bulletin Report: This item will be moved to after "membership and contacts" on the agenda at following meetings.

Jeff reports that the deadline is going to be August 14 at 11h00.

Other Business: Discussion on Gardener Meyers' report

M/C to adjourn 22h58

MINUTES OF THE FORWARD GROUP MEETING
AUGUST 7, 1991

1. Chairperson: John Glenn
2. Secretary : Harry Kopyto
3. Present: : John Glenn, Joe Steinbok, Lois Bedard, Angie Codina (resting), Harry
4. Absence without reason: John Darling
5. Absence with reason : ~~Bob~~ ^{Bob D.} Jeff Smith & Jim Anderson (visiting Lachar ill at hospital) ^{Art}
6. Minutes: M/C to postpone reading of the minutes of the July 24/91 Forward Group Meeting to the next meeting.
7. Correspondence: Lois reported on some correspondence received by Ross from other groups including the IDOM. John Darling wrote us a letter explaining how he can best make his contribution and outlining his summer commitments. M/C to file his letter. There was a further discussion of the Camp Naivelt meeting (festival of the left) scheduled for Friday, August 16/91 at 8:00 p.m. Harry reported confirmation of our attendance. Weisleder had contacted him indicating that the SC did not wish to participate unless someone other than the sectarian groups were present.
8. Membership and Contact: Lois reported on a left caucus contact who arrived in town and got her telephone number from the NDP, and wished to be involved in certain areas of the Left Caucus' activities. There was a discussion of the division of labour for the August 17/91 BBQ. Joe and Harry would do the shopping. M/C to ask Jeff Smith to replace Jim Anderson who will be unable to attend on that day as he is working and giving the educational with Comrade Gord. It was announced that Joe Steinbok needed some help moving possessions he has at Harry's place, which have to be cleared out for the BBQ. Sunday at 10:00 a.m. set for helping Joe, in light of his current disability.
9. Educational: John Glenn explained that a key article had not been available and he wasn't able to finally finish his educational on Yugoslavia. M/C to postpone John Glenn's educational to next meeting. M/C to ask Harry Kopyto to present Gord Doctorow's correspondence to Harry Payne and his comments on it in lieu of John Glenn's educational at the present meeting. Harry presented and read Gord's letter in substance. The following suggestions were made by him in the course of the educational:

(i) With respect to the section on rebuilding the Trotskyist Vanguard in Canada, Harry suggested that this section be strengthened by pointing out that there does not exist any

crystallized significant grouping to the left of the NDP anywhere in Canada. He suggested the observation be made that the constituent social elements of a revolutionary struggle--the most oppressed representatives of the working class; for example, the youths Blacks, Native People, activist rank and file secondary leadership trade unionists, are expressing their radicalization within the NDP, visualized at the recent provincial and federal conventions. Their radicalization is not expressing itself in any significant way to the left of the NDP. He suggested that this section be strengthened as well by explaining the duality of our slogans within the NDP view at this present time; namely, "Win the NDP to socialism!" and "Elect an NDP government!" The latter slogan represents the substantial need to pose labour to power. The former expresses the contradictory nature of the liberal-reformist and petty-bourgeois leadership of the NDP, which simultaneously is organically dependent on the trade union movement yet seeks to straddle the class struggle. He specifically suggested the first full paragraph on page 3 be amended so it will read "the rebuilding of a Trotskyist vanguard will more than ever proceed through the NDP which is far more on the way, rather than in the way at present."

(ii) With respect to the portion of this letter dealing with our attitude to Weisleder and the Fourth international, Harry suggested that this section be expanded to indicate that the FI is presently in the middle of a campaign to reestablish its credibility as the most important Trotskyist tendency following the split from the FI of most of the English speaking sections, especially those in commonwealth countries. In the absence of a specific understanding of the nature of the national question in the Canadian context, the FI has given official status to whatever forces represent the greatest unity and numbers rather than those which are politically correct. The FI has an abstract understanding of Canadian nationalism.

(iii) This section should also reflect our solidarity in practice with the FI on international questions (Ross' campaign for the rehabilitation of Trotsky in tandem with the FI, the statements of solidarity and financial contributions that the movement and comrades have given the FI, or circulation of our literature, etc.

(iv) With respect to that portion of the letter dealing with the Canadian Trotskyist archives, Lois suggested specific corrections which she will prepare and submit to Gord clarifying the contents and identity of the archives donated to the University of Toronto and related matters.

(v) With respect to the portion of the letter dealing with the issue of a Bolshevik model, it was suggested that the analysis contained therein be deepened to point out that it

is essentially the nature of the state rather than the form of the state (democratic or totalitarian) that determines the nature of the instrument necessary to overthrow it. Thus, with the bourgeois state apparatus retaining its essentially oppressive character and in fact becoming more centralized and mediating than ever before in this era of neo-capitalism, the need for a vanguard party has never been greater. It was also suggested that this section be expanded to point out that much of the negativism towards Bolshevism arises out of the ultra-left and sectarian attitudes of so-called Trotskyist groupings. These groupings, it was pointed out, are largely substitutionalist and petty-bourgeois in character, lacking roots in the working class or significant working class membership (the International Socialist for example). It was pointed out also that the thinness of our own cadres; that is, the smallness of our movement contributes to the proliferation of ultra-left sectarian Vanguardist groups, and that this situation is now ripe for normalization.

(vi) A considerable discussion took place around the formulations contained at the top of page 6 of Gord's letter, especially that portion suggesting that capitalism has not exhausted its motor forces of economic expansion. It was pointed out that the overall rate of emiserization is still absolute in light of the status of the colonial world. It was pointed out that much of the permanent technological revolution in which capitalism finds itself has been diverted towards the creation of means of destruction rather than expansion. It was pointed out that the intensification of global competition and the restructuring of world capitalism in trade blocs is not necessarily identical with economic progress, which at the best of times, has been very uneven in its distribution of its benefits. The massive attacks on the standards of living of the working class in the past decade in England, Canada and elsewhere and the deepening dependency of the colonial world on the imperialist blocs (third World Debt, the IMF and World Bank's role in structuring world capitalism) suggest, that overall, capitalism has exhausted its usefulness as a force for economic progress. Gord and Harry were instructed to clarify the comments contained at the top of page 6 in light of the discussion.

(vii) With respect to the portion of the letter dealing with centralism, it was felt that Harry Paine should be told that our paper is about to be published in our own name, and that we are also contemplating opening up every second meeting towards educational discussions with our contacts, in an effort to reassert our public face, more aggressively appeal to people on the basis of our revolutionary traditions and recruit contacts directly towards Trotskyism. It was suggested Gord make it clear that the direction of CHOICES should be to enter the NDP as a bone fide Left Caucus, rather than developing in a direction of competing with the NDP.

(Though not noted at the meeting, Harry noted that in a number of points that the SC has altered its position somewhat by designating Canada as a minor rather than a major imperialist country, and by recognizing the existence of continental integration, and recognizing that the consequences of continental integration are not positive, yet linking any criticism of continental integration with a criticism of Canadian nationalism at all times, and calling for an abstract unity of the working classes in various countries [viz, Canada/Mexico/U.S.] against free trade).

Harry also pointed out that it is not correct to describe ourselves as "rational empiricists," and that we change the wording of the letter to indicate that we use the empirical method to test our ideas.

M/C at the end of the discussion to adopt the line of the August 4 letter as amended by the discussion.

10. Financial Report: An abbreviated informational report was presented by Harry.

11. NDP & Left Caucus: Lois reported on municipal activities in and around the Layton campaign. Harry reported on the Black Advisory Caucus meeting for Floyd Laughren. His call to mobilize the rank and file to the party, defend the budget was greeted with enthusiasm and support by the meeting, although Laughren paid only lip service to the need to mobilize, pointing out that it was difficult for the NDP as an elected government to do so, except perhaps through intervention of NDPers around the public hearings that will be held on the budget.

11. Codina/Kopyto Defence Committee: Harry reported on Angie's application for a bail review, her small claims court action against a solicitor who had slandered her, and as a result, initiated the Law Society investigation against her, and other related developments.

12. New Business: Lois read the article which she had written on the appeal to participate in our archives project.

Calendar was read and meeting was adjourned circa 10:40 p.m.

FORWARD MEETING - TORONTO
AUGUST 21, 1991

Chair: Kopyto; Secretary: Smith
Attendance: Kopyto, Glenn, Bedard, Doctorow, Smith, Codina.
Absent with reason: Steinbock, Gray.

Minutes: M/C to adopt the minutes of July 24 and August 7 as amended.

Business arising from minutes: Letter to Paine was re-written by Gord pointing out that objectively, capitalism is continuing to grow in a contradictory manner.

Membership and Contacts: Art is busy with the Museum in Coldwater and has accommodation in a retirement home.

John G. Reports that Demetro and Shorter seemed negative at the B.B.Q. Gord says that Steve is exploring and remains recruitable and that Demetro, who claims membership in Militant, has been asking about the Forward Group. However we failed to consolidate contacts

M/C that we hold a similar social later this fall.

M/C that Jeff write to Militant to propose a joint discussion on prospective of building a Trotskyist vanguard in Canada with two speakers each allotted 15 minutes.

The CP, NDP and Communist League failed to attend the Naivelt "festival of the left" It was mostly attended by members of the UJPO. Jean Jenkin, from the *Tribune* expressed an interest in finding out more about the Group.

Bulletin Report: Jeff reports that he is waiting on more articles and that the issue is too heavily a historical recount. Gord suggests that we reprint Harry's speech from Naivelt.

Educational: M/C to table John G.'s educational until next meeting in order that we may discuss recent events in the USSR.

NDP/LC: Dave Ross, an ex-Maoist, is interested in becoming active in the Left Caucus around environmental issues.

M/C to discuss him at next meeting.

Gord reports that the North York NDP has started a candidate search.

M/C that we encourage the L.C. Steering Committee to intervene in Labour Day parade with a leaflet identifying with NDP municipal campaigns. esp. Layton's. Jeff and Harry will work on leaflet.

Kopyto Codina: Angie is appearing August 30 for her bail hearing. Bail is set at \$50,000

Discussion on the recent events in the USSR followed

M/C to adjourn at 23h10. Next meeting will be in two weeks.

FORWARD MEETING - TORONTO

September 4, 1991

chair: Kopyto, Secretary: Smith

Present: Steinbock, Kopyto, Glenn, Smith, Bédard.

Apologies: Doctorow, Anderson, Codina, Gray, Darling.

M/C to adopt minutes of August 21 as amended.

M/C to courier the letter to Militant

Membership and contacts: Lois reports that Gord received a communication from Deagle and Penny. They are unhappy with the Ontario government and it was suggested they be invited to the next Left Caucus planning committee meeting.

Joe reports that Jim is having a problem with commitment. Harry pointed out that we cannot legally expel him.

M/C that Jeff and Joe arrange a meeting with Jim to discuss any change of status.

Educational on Yugoslavia - discussion followed.

NDP: 950 copies of the Left Caucus leaflet were distributed at the Labour Day parade. Joe reports that the NDP group was laid-back while the unions were out in force.

M/C/ discussion on Dave Ross to be postponed until next meeting.

Harry reports that the NDP government is moving to make cuts to balance the budget. Also, their support of the postal strikers is ambiguous.

Kopyto Codina: Bail has been dropped to personal cognisance. The immigration prosecution continues. There will be a last attempt to block the immigration trial.

New Business: Weisleder has done a good job on organizing a solidarity picket with PSAC. We should play an active role in this support group.

M/C to ask Fred to participate in the solidarity group.

Bulletin report: Harry suggests that someone else step into bulletin. The *Vanguard Party* article should be pulled.

M/C To return to next meeting with proposals for bulletin.

M/C to adjourn 23h02. Next meeting Sept. 18.

FORWARD MEETING - TORONTO

September 18, 1991

Chair: Gray, Secretary: Smith

Present: Kopyto, Doctorow, Gray, Codina, Smith, Bédard.
Apologies: Steinbock, Glenn, Anderson, Darling.

M/C to defer minutes of September 4 until next meeting.

Correspondence:

Gord received a letter from Paine who is thinking of joining Socialist Challenge, but is holding off until receipt of our last correspondence. He wants to be kept updated on what we are doing. We must discuss whether he wants to become member-at-large.

M/C To ask Paine to join as Member-at-large.

Harry reports that upon receipt of the Forward address, delivered at the recent "festival of the Left", Alex Bustos, a new Socialist Challenge recruit, is encouraged and is interested in hearing from us.

M/C to file this letter

Bédard reports that David Ross has written us pointing out the need for Reds to become "Green".

Membership and Contacts:

Dimitro is interested in meeting with us with the Militant Tendency. Simon Lennark remains weary noting our failure to dedicate our energies to support the PSAC strike.

M/C to contact the Militant Tendency if it has not replied to our proposal within a week.

Abbie Weizfeldt visited Ross and gave him *End of Zionism* which was compiled by Weizfeldt. He has bought a book shop and is working on a thesis.

Jeff reported that Jim never showed up at the meeting arranged with himself and Joe.

M/C to send a letter to Jim directing him to contact Kopyto regarding his status and, if he chooses, to justify why he should not be dropped to sympathizer.

M/C that the planned educational be postponed to next meeting

M/C to postpone the evaluation of John Glenn's last educational.

Bulletin Report:

Jeff reports that nothing is moving.

Gord proposes that we do a balance sheet on the NDP's performance in Ontario.

NDP Business:

Gord reports that Harry has pulled together a forum with Kormos and Brian Charlton. Gord and Jeff went to the Zoo social to collect names to contact about the auto insurance forum. The response was very positive.

Kraft and Shapcott are interested in participating.

M/C to recommend to the Left Caucus to go ahead with the forum.

M/C to recommend to the Left Caucus to distribute a leaflet calling for an open debate on the NDP's year in office and advertise the Kormos meeting.

Harry spoke to Farrell to urge him to have the Black Advisory Committee encourage Layton to put forward the issue of a police review board.

Gord reported that municipal candidates are shying away from the NDP -- likely because of the provincial party's performance.

Kopyto Codina:

Hampton has written to Kopyto maintaining that he is unable to intervene, but he is having an official look into the case.

James Lockier is willing to represent Angie for \$2,000 pd., but he is afraid that the case will be dismissed. Harry feels that the abuse of processes case should be handled by someone else.

M/C that Angie postpone the next stage of the appeal.

Harry's security service critique will focus on the need to investigate police use of force.

M/C to adjourn 22h49, Next meeting Oct. 2.

FORWARD MEETING - TORONTO

October 2, 1991

chair: Glenn, Secretary: Smith

Present: Kopyto, Steinbock, Glenn, Doctorow, Smith, Bédard.
Apologies: Codina, Gray.

M/C to adopt minutes of September 4 meeting.

M/C to adopt minutes of September 18 meeting as information.

Membership and Contacts:

Jeff reports that he has met with Jim who has not yet received Harry's letter. Jeff expressed the group's disappointment in his attitude. Jim said that he felt intimidated by the group and wants to become a sympathizer.

M/C to drop Jim to sympathizer without prejudice.

M/C to approach Darling re. his status.

Jeff reported that no one in the Militant Tendency has challenged the decision not to meet with us, as Baines said he was going to do. He feels that Simon is afraid of losing members to us.

Harry reported that Rick Duby, who is presently working with Harry, has been around Niavelt, is interested in revolutionary politics.
M/C to put Duby on our contact list.

Jeff reports that after several meetings with Baines, that, in his opinion, he should not be considered for recruitment at this time since he displays extreme irresponsibility and is politically unstable and potentially dangerous. However he may be useful for other recruits.

Harry believes that we may be able to recruit Ragou [?]

M/C to participate at the Socialist Challenge meeting.

Harry proposes that our social for contacts be held on Oct. 26
M/C to refer discussion on the social until the next meeting.

NDP:

M/C to substitute the educational with discussion of the NDP balance sheet report by Harry.

M/C to adopt the article as amended

/C that Forward pay the printing costs of this document to be later reimbursed by the Left Caucus.

Lois reports that Gord, Harry and Lois met with Kormos re. the meeting. Kormos reports that there is a sentiment within the government benches that is opposed to the insurance flip-flop.

M/C adjourn 22h50. Next meeting October 16.

FORWARD MEETING - TORONTO

October 16, 1991

Chair: Codina, Secretary: Smith

Attendance: Codina, Smith, Doctorow, Bédard and Steinbock

Absent with Reason: Glenn

M/C Postpone minutes of last meeting until next meeting

Correspondence:

Pete Matalinis writes that CPers and left New Democrats in the west are talking in the wake of a split in the CP. Sovset may have some archival material on the CP in the USSR.

M/C to adopt the letter as information.

Dave Ross writes that the reds should become green. This will be discussed at the Left Caucus forum.

Membership and contacts:

Lois reported that Glenn will attend the upcoming Socialist Challenge conference.

Harry considers Steve Shorter a "hot contact". Steve is into anything to do with revolutionary politics and his views are similar to those of the group.

Harry gave Rick Dubey a run-down on Marxism and the USSR. He describes himself as an anarchist, but wants to join, although he has a tendency to disappear from time to time. Joe suggests that Dubey be taken into the Left Caucus.

M/C that the social be put on the agenda at the next meeting and should be held sometime after the municipal elections.

Treasurer's report:

We have about \$500. the Left Caucus debt for the previous meeting has been cleared.

Educational:

M/C to postpone the evaluation of Glenn's educational

M/C that the next educational will be on the current situation in Cuba and its relationship to the "new world order" by Codina

M/C to cancel the educational on the "new world order"

Left Caucus:

Gord reports that Bobker has no objections on the auto insurance flip-flop and is shying away from socialism and has left the Left Caucus. The Left Caucus now has \$12 until next meeting

Lois gave a report on the Sudbury Council

M/C to adopt Lois' report.

Joe reports there was widespread anger with Bob Rae and the auto insurance policy.

Gord reports that Kormos and Swart were elected to the panel on auto insurance from which Rae stepped down. Swart challenged Rae to overturn his decision and Kormos revealed that the insurance industry knew about Rae's decision ten days before the official announcement. A petition was well received and the document was widely circulated.

Harry reports that a letter has been sent to Mayoral candidate Layton to name October 12 as Indigenous Persons' Day

Smith Campaign:

Smith will run in the North York Centre riding for Metro Councillor to consume right-wing resources in that area.

M/C that the Forward Group endorse the Smith's bid for Metro Council.

Codina Kopyto:

Angie's criminal charges seem to have been dropped. Symbolski has failed to come across. Harry feels that he may be being set up by a "client". Legal aid is trying to connect Angie with Harry.

MINUTES OF THE FORWARD GROUP - NOV. 27, 1991

#912 40 HOMEWOOD

1. The meeting was called to order by chair Joe Steinbok at 8:00 p.m. Lois Bedard volunteered to be secretary since Harry K. was detained.

2. Attendance. L. Bedard, A. Codina, G. Doctorow, A. Gray, J. ~~Glen~~, S. Shorter, J. Steinbok present. Absent with cause: J. Darling, B. Kasher.

3. Correspondence. a) No reply from the Militant groups and from Socialist Challenge re a joint meeting early in 1992.

b) Jeff Smith requested Sympathizers status, Gord D and Joe S. were assigned to discuss his request with a view to directing him to the Left Caucus.

4. Reports. a) Lois reported on the OFL Convention and the Solidarity meeting on Mon. Nov. 18, that she attended with Steve Shorter. Attendance was approx. 100 people with roughly 45 people remaining for discussion. The panel of Andre Kolmopar, Nick de Metro, Joe Hollis, Barry Weisleder. Dave McNally was designated to prepare an emergency resolution Against Racial Discrimination in the Trade Union Movement.

b) NDP (i) Gord reported on the Sudbury Provincial Council and the lack of follow-up by the committee struck off to continue the struggle for Public Car Insurance. However, he reported that there is a resolution to be presented at the December Council from Mel Swart's Committee passed by Peter Kormos' riding.

(ii) Municipal Elections There was a discussion of Jeff Smith's 30,000 votes, Lennox Farrel's campaign and the Layton for Mayor campaign. (iii) There was a short discussion of the ^{April} 1992 Council and the June Provincial Convention and the need for the Left Caucus to have a Newsletter in February for distribution.

c) Newsletter & 1992 Emphasis of Forward Group To intervene actively in the debate on tactical demands and for membership activity in the party democracy. To build the Left Caucus by having noon hour or evening get-togethers to build our contacts and promote the constituency so that members can (i) build critical support, (ii) activate the movement to build ways to best publically defend the appropriate NDP orientation to the recession, plant closures and crisis intervention.

d) Kopyto, Codina Court Cases. (i) In one year, Harry will have a book completed outlining the disbarment and persecution of Angie. He continues to proceed with his appeal. (ii) Angie has been served and ^{is} to be brought before the Court re. the 2 year old immigration charge.

e) Educational. Angie Codina will lead the educational on Cuba on January 8th. John Darling will lead the educational on Building a New Nation in USSR in January. Lois Bedard will lead the educational on Free Trade in February.

New Yeeear's Party at 211 Dunvegan Rd. - (9:00 pm to 2:00 am.

The attached is to be distributed at the Nov. 30th Provincial Council and will be mailed out with the Left Caucus' contents.

Gord Doctrow and Harry Kapyto will arrange a programme to precede the midnight hour.

Joe Steinbok, Conseullo and Harry will look after refreshments.

Joyh Glenn will manage the bar which will serve beer and wine - only 2 tickets for \$5.00.

Lois Bedard will be at the door to collect the \$15.00 charge.

CALENDAR

NOV. 30 - DEC. 2 PROVINCIAL COUNCIL

Christmas Recess.

Adjournment. The meeting adjourned at 10:45 pm .

Submitted by

Lois Bedard, pro tem

MINUTES OF THE FORWARD GROUP MEETING
January 8, 1992

Meeting was convend at 8:00 p.m.

M/C to adopt standard agenda

Attendance: Away with reason: John Darling
 Late: Gord Doctorow
 Present: John G., Harry K.
 Lois Bedard, Art G,
 Joe Steinbok, Steve Shorter

Minutes: M/C to adopt minutes of November 27, 1991 meeting as read

Correspondence: No correspondence

Membership and Contacts: Discussion about Jeff Smith. Helped at Left Caucus New Year's party. Still need to meet. Report on some contacts at Left Caucus party.

Educational: Angie Codina on Cuba

Financial Report: Comrades asked to review financial pledges

Break for dues and pledges

NDP: General discussion of situation NDP is presently in. We have to challenge NDP's drifting and call for NDP to tax the rich. Challenge to NDP leadership would mean labour mobilizing behind leadership. Poverty activists are really around the NDP and not inside it. Signs of malaise among NDP members. Yet leadership accepts inevitability of economic decline adopting bourgeois concepts. We need to call for party to open discussion on what the NDP must achieve in its first term of government. Accountability issue has to be presented within framework of 30 for 40, open the books, tax surplus wealth and stop the shutdowns. M/C to refer this topic of discussion to an expanded next Left Caucus steering committee meeting.

Reports on New Year's Party: Party was a success. Older crowd. Close to \$600.00 grossed. Kopyto Defence Committee supporters present with limited Left Caucus periphery. Discussion of suggestion to have a future coffee house evening with social entertainment. M/C to refer the suggesting to the next Left Caucus Steering Committee meeting.

Kopyto/Codina Defence Committee: Angie facing charges January 10, 1992. Hopefully Lochyer will argue abuse because of harassment and delay and relaying charge and we will launch prohibition motion if preliminary hearing proceeds.

2

New Business: Gord reported on lecture to be given on February 3 at U of T on Permanent Revolution by Richard Roman. Harry reported on speech he gave at Black rally and Lois reported on women's meeting at OISE where Rosemary Brown spoke. Gord said that we have to review Forward Group Bulletin, bring articles up to date and publish it soon. M/C to discuss this matter at nest meeting.

Meeting adjourned 10:50 p.m.

FORWARD GROUP MEETING

January 22, 1991 — (Error 1992)

Meeting convened at 8:05 p.m.

ATTENDANCE:

Present: John Darling, Lois B., Gord Doctorow, John Glen,
Joe Steinbok, Steve Shorter, Harry K.

Invited Guest: Jeff Smith

Minutes: January 8th, minutes read and adopted.

Educational: Review of Angie's educational on Cuba. Very good broad-ranging educational. Educational Presentation was an extended presentation on the status of the former Soviet Union and the roots of the Soviet bureaucracy.

Discussion of a proposal to hold a public meeting in the foreseeable future on the Soviet Union and to invite other tendencies to participate in it. M/C to adopt such a proposal.

M/C to hold an educational on the current state of the class struggle in Canada. Harry Kopyto nominated to give educational.

M/C to refer additional educational on the conjunctural situation in the Soviet Union to the next branch meeting.

BREAK FOR DUES AND PLEDGES

NDP Report: Discussion of participation as candidates in the Federal Election scheduled in approximately one year. There were arguments in favour of running - the possibility of raising the issues, deepening our roots in the party etc. There were arguments against - to use our energy to build our movement, the likelihood of being stymied in the nomination process by the right wing supporting a woman, etc. It was suggested Lennox could run since he has a base and might qualify as a primacy candidate in a winnable riding.

Kopyto-Codina Defence Committee:

Angie's court case put over to January 24 to set a

2

date while Lockyer tries to get charge withdrawn.

Forward Bulletin:

Bulletin not being thought through. Need meeting to pin it down. Joe and Gord will pull articles together this weekend.

Calendar read and meeting adjourned 10:45 p.m.

BRANCH MEETING FEBRUARY 5TH, 1992

ATTENDANCE:

~~Harry~~ with Reason-Steve S, Art Gray, Angie
Alway

PRESENT

: Joe Gord, John D., John G., Harry, Lois

MINUTES

: Minutes of January 22, 1992 adopted as read

BUSINESS

ARISING

: Harry reported an effort to contact S.C. re Russian/ex S.C. forum. John Glenn to contact Tom Barker

CORRESPONDENCE:

NONE

MEMBERSHIP

AND CONTACTS:

Reports by Joe & Gord on Jeff Smith. M/C to drop Jeff to the status of a sympathizer ~~is~~.

FORWARD

GROUP

: Report on Steve Shorter. M/C to initiate a series of recruitment ~~decisions~~ with Steve. Harry and Lois selected to discuss with him. *discuss*

Report on Rick Duby. Unstable, naive *more* into into

NDP work.

TREASURER'S

REPORT

: \$644.00 balance. Need more checks from ~~Comrades~~ *Comrades*

EDUCATIONAL:

Evaluation of John Darling's educational ~~on~~ the Revolution Betrayed

EDUCATIONAL:

Lois presented educational on Free Trade.

NDP

: Committee struck off to have Left Caucus hold forum

Joe and Lois *live* involved.

Harry reported on "St. Pauls" Meeting. 10 ~~to~~ 2 votes out of 22 for member-at-large.

Joe reported on federal meeting cluster.

M/C to ~~skip~~ part of agenda

NEW BUSINESS: Gord reported on Rohman lecture Rohman gave favourable treatment of Trotsky's theory of the Permanent Revolution. Rohman is academic sympathetic to Trotsky but unclear on some fundamental ideas.

John Darling mentioned book by Dick Fidler. Will order for ~~comrades~~ *comrades*

Gord reported that Fred Callaghan wants to raise Cross-Canada labor paper at CLC convention which we ~~are~~ agreeing *AG N* TO, Joe and Gord reported on teachers negotiations. Work-to-rule likely. Gord getting Forward articles printed.

CALENDER

: Read and meeting adjourned at 11:00 p.m.

Adopted

FORWARD GROUP MEETING

Date: February 19, 1992

1. Call to order 8:14 p.m.

Present: John Glen, Gord Doctorow, Lois Bedard, Joe Steinbok

Chair: John Glenn

Secretary: Joe Steinbok

Attendance: Absent with reason: John Darling

Late: Angie, Harry K.

2. Minutes Posponed Reading of minutes passed.

3. Correspondence

Houle (Bullock - ed.)
Jerry from Ruth Bolak, has some material for Forward Group. (Re: LSA) 1972 in . Report by L.B. letter box expires May 92, to Wellesley & Church by L.B. *Mark*

4. Membership & Contacts

Harry reported on Steve Shorter. He identifies with us politically. Wants to come to our meetings but we told him meetings are only for members.

AND INSTEAD

M/C that we amend previous decisions that Harry and Lois approach Steve Shorter on subject of recruitmant with focus on comradeship.

John Glen reported on approach to SC for common forum on ex S.U. They agree conditional on us building meeting, dual speaking and barring B.T. and ~~SPARK~~ we should tell SC that we will postpone discussion ~~the sim.~~ on ex S.U. and that F.G. review this matter in fall and reconstruct previous revolutionary groups who expressed interest in meeting last fall.

M/C to postpone educational to next meeting

evaluation of Lois' educaiton: worthwhile educational and useful observations made.

M/C to have discussion on Gord's article on senate reform. *Discussion*

NDP Report

Mouy
Gord reported ~~Marg~~ Boyes initiative to launch inter- alternative press in NDP, Comrades encouraged to come to participate. *hled*
RIDING

Lois reported on upcoming Etobicoke combined riding ^{meeting} for Peter Kormos. ^

John Glenn reported on his riding meeting.

Gord reported on OSSTF 80% vote in rejecting contact and impending vote ^R on work-to-rule tomorrow.

Kopyto-Codina

Angie faces a preliminary **HEARING** on June 22-23. Trying to influence Lockyer. Harry to ~~contact~~ ^{TR 1} to get appeal going.

New Business

Gord gave report on Bulletin progress.

Calendar read and meeting adjourned 10:30 p.m.

MINUTES OF THE FORWARD GROUP MEETING
MARCH 4, 1992

Attendance:

Present:

John Glenn, Angie Codina,
Lois Bedard, Art Grey,
Joe Steinbok,
Gord Doctorow,
Zane Boyd, John Darling,
Harry Kopyto

Minutes:

Minutes of meeting of February 5, adopted as read.
Minutes of meeting of February 19, adopted as read.

Correspondence:

Lois reported
~~No~~ supported on left caucus correspondence and on
announcement of learned scholars conference in
Regina in early June, 1992.

Membership and Contacts:

Steve Shorter, Lois and Harry K. to meet.

Educational:

Harry Kopyto on class struggle in Canada today.
Extended educational discussion. M/C to hold
class on future of capitalism April 12, 1992.
M/C to have educational on Quebec and the
Constitutional crisis at the next meeting.
M/C to postpone branch meeting to March 25.
M/C to have joint presentation by Zane and John of Quebec
educational

Financial Report:

Harry Kopyto appealed for post-dated cheques.

BREAK FOR DUES AND PLEDGES

NDP and Left Caucus:

Left Caucus resolution
Gord reported on two resolutions passed by his
riding on *accountability and setting a women's organization*
John Glenn reported on his riding meeting.
He will be a delegate to the Convention.
(fulfilling a promise.)

Harry reported on his riding's meeting.
 Zane Akande gave a speech at his annual
 riding meeting and he was elected as an
 alternate.

prov. council

John and Lois reported on meeting of riding
 Presidents with three Cabinet Ministers at the
 OFC ~~Office~~ Building the preceeding Saturday.

Kopyto/Codina Defence Committee:

Angie's dates for a preliminary hearing will have
 to be changed as they were set for a week when the
 Courts were not sitting. As a result, she likely
 will have to be reserved with documents and the
 whole matter started all over again.

New Business:

Calendar read and meeting adjourned 10:56 p.m.

MINUTES OF THE FORWARD GROUP MEETING
MARCH 25, 1992

Chair: John Glenn Secretary: Harry K.

Attendance: Gord, Angie, Lois, Zane, John G., Harry

Away with reason: Art G., Joe S., John D.

Minutes: Minutes of March 4, 1992
Adopted as amended

Correspondence: None

Membership and Contacts: Gord reported on leaflet written by Stu Sinclair on how to fight unemployment (useful leaflet)

Discussion of Steven Shorter, Lois and Harry reported on Steve's lack of desire to commit himself and tendency to float around different groups. M/C to state to Steve that we want and believe that he should join but that he has to decide his status as a sympathizer or member and that he would have to join the Forward Group to come to meetings.

Harry reported on contacts with Ron Dixon on contact with Mike Freeman, a student at Ottawa Law School and NDP member doing a project on Harry.

Gord reported on Dave Thomszack's father's impending demise from cancer and the desirability of the Group to respond.

Treasurer's Report: Harry reported on balance in Forward Group account. Gord suggested paying an outstanding \$200.00 balance through the Forward Group.

NDP and Left Caucus: Report by Gord. Provincial Council meeting this weekend. Accountability resolution this Sunday morning at Council meeting. Also resolution on women's organizer position and riding rebates resolution. Votes likely to test the satisfaction of membership. These resolutions are designed to raise the issues not as a focus or centre for mobilization.

M/C to announce Left Caucus meeting at conclusion of Saturday Provincial Council session. Lois reported on the Left Caucus meeting last night.

Left Caucus NDP Party: Report by Lois. Phoning to be organized.

Kopyto/Codina Defence: Angie won right to be on designated Refugee Panel of O.L.A.P. Still fighting to be on Lawyer Referral Service panel and to advertise on Bulletin Board.

Harry reported on NDP planning to amend Law Society Discipline process.

Educational: Zane Boyd gave Educational on Quebec and Constitutional Crisis.

New Business: Discussion of NDP Resolutions that Left Caucus should circulate. These Resolutions include the following:

On Columbus Day (to be done by Gord)

On moving teachers from Sheppard jurisdiction under Bill 100 to coverage by the Labourer Relations Act (to be done by Gord), Resolution on Andre Kolumpar and injunctions against picketing (to be done by Harry)

Resolution on Women's Rights (to be drafted by Lois)

Resolution on NDP Press (to be drafted by Harry)

We will try to have the drafts ready by April 8.

Calendar Read and Meeting adjourned 11:30 p.m.

FORWARD GROUP MEETING OF APRIL 22, 1992

The meeting started at 8:15 ^A~~P~~.m.

Attendance

Absent with reason: John Glen, Angie Codina, Art Grey

Joe STEINBOK

Present: Lois Bedarrine, ^{ARB} Boyd Gordono, ^{Detron} Harry Kopyto

MINUTES

Motion carried to adopt minutes of meeting of April 16, 1992 as amended.

Business arising out of the Minutes

The box number for the left caucus is at 552 Church Street. It is Box 39, Toronto, Ontario, M4Y 2E3.

Correspondence

There was no correspondence to report on.

Membership and Contacts

Discussion of class and economic issues given by Harry Kopyto. Gord said it was a first class education. It was a global outlook jump of information and sweeping. The class was quite useful in serving the purpose of lifting our political discussion, consolidating contacts, giving us a profile and publicly defining our views. It allowed an exchange of views as well.

Discussion on future classes

These are desirable on topics such as the Transitional Program, on issues like a planned economy and on a social analysis of the Canadian economy. There was general agreement that we should plan another discussion of the Transitional Program in the context of the Canadian class struggle. Motion carried to delay the decision to hold it to a future Forward Group meeting.

Bulletin

Gord reported that we have an edited version of the Bulletin. Motion

ANE

carried to edit the paper on May 3rd with Harry Kopyto, Zing Boyd, Lois Boudard^W, Gord Doctoro^W available to do so.

Educational

cancel / postpone
Motion carried to ~~cancel~~ the educational to the next meeting.

N.D.P. and Left Caucus

Discussion of the N.D.P. newsletter. There was a discussion on topics that should be included. Key articles should be on Rae and the debate between market and a planned social economy. We reviewed other topics that should be included in the coming issue including accountability and the decision was made that we hold a public meeting as well on June 3rd to focus the attention of the Left Caucus on what should be done at the convention.

Report on Riding Meetings

IN
Lois reported on her High Park - Swansea meeting. Gord reported on ~~subset~~ resolutions and on left resolutions, ~~convened at Kopydo Defense Committee~~. Angie Codina had to choose between Bouch and Lockheed. *other*

Discussion of how to approach Lockheed

Prack / Treizer
Calendar was read and the meeting was adjourned at 10:40 p.m.

MINUTES OF THE FORWARD GROUP MEETING - May 6, 1992

The meeting commenced at 8:10 p.m.

Attendance

Present: Zane Boyd, John Glenn, Lois Bedard, Gord Doctro,
Harry Kopyto

Absent with reason: John Darling, Bob ~~R~~asher, Art Grey

Late: Joe Steinbock

Motion carried to have branch meetings on Thursdays or on Tuesdays if Thursdays were not agreeable to John Darling.

subsequently determined Thursday were ok with John

Correspondence

Motion carried to give ~~St~~ permission to quote from the Dowson vs R.C.M.P. pamphlets. Harry distributed copies of articles on the Layton campaign. Report by Gord that Bob Casher is moving to London. Bob should be getting copies of minutes, make a pledge and get involved in the N.D.P. Motion carried to adopt this suggestion and to have John Glenn contact Bob with a view to encouraging him to fulfil his obligations as a member at large of the movement.

Report on Jeff Smith

signs practically
Showing some boundaries ~~NO~~ BACK

Educational and International

Harry presented an educational and international on our movement in that context. There was a full discussion which took place and a motion to extend the discussion was made and accepted.

Treasurer's Report

\$843.00 balance.

N.D.P. Left Caucus

Lois reported on the meeting of the Women's Committee of the Ontario New Democratic Party. The meeting was held under the aegis

shared by

of Sandra Clifford. Unlike previous meetings which were poorly funded and disorganized, this meeting was excellently organized, properly structured, was run properly as well and was designed to encourage women to be active in the N.D.P. and to run as candidates. Instead it showed the decay of the leadership and the burnout of individual women leaders pushed beyond endurance.

Report on Lineup for Left Caucus Newsletter

The lineup is as worked out at the last left caucus meeting.

Discussion of Left Caucus Meeting

Need to line up speakers, organizing meeting and getting a hall.

Kopyto-Codina Defence Committee

Angie on immigration charge in 116 court tomorrow. Roach to represent her. Laukcheer out.

New Business

Social challenge May day rally had disinterested audience and was somewhat ~~abuse~~ by the S.C. who built it in a united front way.

Report on N.D.B. Riding Resolution Meetings from Saint A & P, Swansea and Gord's Riding.

The meeting adjourned at 10:53 p.m.

JUNE 25, 1992

Meeting convened at 8:10 p.m.

Attendance: Present - Zane, John D, John G, Lois, Gord, Harry.
Late - Joe and Angie

Minutes: Motion carried to postpone reading of minutes of last meeting.

Correspondence: None

Membership and Contacts: Chris Thurott played a friendly role at the NDP convention last week and notwithstanding his job in the building trades counsel at the OFL building where he has a sensitive job in the labour movement, ~~which~~ ^{W2} which should bring him around the left caucus. There was also a discussion about other persons that we met through the left caucus like Betty, Gail and Marie Pepper who attended our meetings at the convention. We should try to keep in touch with these people through the left caucus and inform them when the meetings take place.

NDP: Discussion on the convention. Lois gave her report indicating that we had received between approximately 10-28% of the votes ~~for~~ ^{for} various positions from Member at Large to Vice President on the left caucus slate. A significant number of new persons also attended left caucus meetings and expressed an interest in keeping in touch with the left caucus. It was generally agreed that while the convention was a highly managed convention without delegates really knowing for sure which of the resolutions would be given priority and with a lot of manipulation, the character of the ~~convention~~ was fundamentally affirmed. The activists were relatively subdued. The Left Caucus role was important and the Left Caucus was able to appeal to the labor delegates as well as to the rank and file especially through Harry's speech to the convention which emphasized the events of the Labour Relations Act. ^{except for (Gord's) who got well over 70%}

party as a labor front

important

Secretary's contribution

The Left Caucus newsletter was the only document of any theory of weight at the convention and undoubtedly had a significant impact. We could have intervened more consciously on floor battles had we had more time and been more organized. It was agreed that overall our role at the convention could not have been much better, that the newsletter was of a high quality and effective, and that our bolder strategy was correct. We agreed to discuss a left caucus fund raiser, a fall conference for the left caucus, and a newsletter at a subsequent meeting.

Forward Group Meeting

Page 2

June 25, 1992

There was also discussion of production of the Left Caucus newsletter and the consolidation of a team of persons to put it out involving Jeff who played a critical role.

Kopyto - Codina - Defence Report: A search warrant was executed at Angie's and Harry's place. A fight is looming over access to the files that were taken.

Educational: Motion was carried to postpone to the next meeting the Forward Group educational on Cadres Building.

Forward Bulletin: We will meet July 4, 1992 at Gord's place at 10:00 to try to put out the bulletin.

Calendar read and meeting adjourned at approximately 10:40 p.m.

FORWARD GROUP MEETING, July 9, 1992

Meeting commenced at approximately 8:30 p.m.

Attendance: Absent with reason: John Glenn, Joe Steinbok,
Angie Codina

Late: John Darling

Present: Zane, Lois, Art, Gord, Harry

Chairperson: Zane

Minutes: Minutes of June 11, 1992 read and approved as amended. Minutes of June 25, 1992 approved and amended.

Correspondence: Harry reporting on receiving a letter from Australia documenting collaboration of Zionist hierarchy with Nazi regimes. There was a discussion of periodicals that Ross was receiving, and it was decided that we should review the recent issues to see which ones the movement should continue to subscribe to and sustain.

Membership and Contacts: A motion was carried that Bob Kasher and Harry Paine be contacted to clarify their status and to provide them with copies of minutes if their status as members at large is reaffirmed.

Educational: Zane Boyd gave an educational on Cadre building. M/C carried to have our next educational on the transitional program as it applies to Canada. M/C carried to have Harry Kopyto give the educational with input from Gord. M/C to consider having an external educational on Quebec where Dick Fidler would be speaking at our next meeting.

NDP Left Caucus: M/C to have the Left Caucus BBQ held at Harry's and Angie's place on Sunday, August 2 with the more formal part of it taking place between 2 and 4:30 p.m. and the BBQ thereafter. Zane and Joe assigned to be in charge of preparing the food. We would ask Jeff to prepare the leaflet. We would charge \$10.00 for admission and charge for drinks.

Codina/Kopyto Defence Committee: Harry reported that the immigration charge matter scheduled for February 13 would likely be postponed because the prosecution has not filed its papers in time. August 31 has been set as a date for a judge to order the review of the documents seized from Angie's office and Harry's and Angie's home.

Forward Bulletin: Harry and Gord met last Saturday. The paper is almost together. We agree to try and get together in the very near future to edit some of the longer articles and complete the work.

2

New Business: Gord reported on correspondence he had with Audrey McLaughlin regarding the senate issue in which she expressed the view that the majority of Canadians want a senate of some time.

Calendar read and meeting adjourned at approximately 11:00 p.m. ^{KIND}

FORWARD GROUP MEETING, August 6, 1992

Meeting convened at approximately 8:10 p.m.

Attendance: Present: Gord Doctorow, Harry Kopyto, Lois Bedard, Angie Codina
Late: John Darling
Absent with reason: Zane Boyd, John Glenn, Art Joe Steinbok

Minutes: M/C to adopt minutes of minutes of July 9, 1992

Correspondence: None

Membership and Contacts: Gord has yet to get in touch with Harry Paine. Gord requested and was granted a leave of absence from August 16 to August 22 and August 30 to September 6 for his annual vacation.

Lois will contact Left Caucus people to have them telephone persons on our mailing list to invite them to the Left Caucus social August 30, 1992.

Educational: Past educationals - M/C to postpone an evaluation of Zane's educational to the next meeting.

Harry made a motion to have his educational on the Transitional Program divided into two parts. The first part will deal the Transitional Program in the context of our experience with the NDP government between 1990 and 1992 and would be presented today. The second part of the educational would deal with the Transitional Program in the context of the constitutional crisis and the Quebec question and would be given next week. M/C to adopt the motion.

Treasurer's Report: M/C to postpone the treasurer's report to the next meeting.

NDP Report: Riding reports - Lois reported that Joe MacDonald was running for the federal nomination in Etobicoke South. Efforts were being made to derail his plan by personal attacks. In addition, Layton is likely to be running in St. Davids. Some elements ~~deriving~~ are counterposing a Black candidate. There is a general problem among some elements in the Black community who are suggesting that anyone who isn't supporting their candidates is racist. This may end up being a difficulty in St. Davids.

Lois reported on the Left Caucus mailing which will be taking place next Thursday. At the same time, we shall have a discussion with the various people we are inviting to help us with the mailing of the social leaflet and newsletter concerning future Left Caucus activities including having a conference.

Forward Group Bulletin: Gord reported that the collective putting out the bulletin was recommending that an up-to-date article on our NDP experience be included in the issue and that it replace the synopsis that was done of Ross's pamphlet on Quebec. M/C to concur with this recommendation.

Kopyto/Codina Defence: Angie's application to challenge the grabbing of files on the basis that they violated the solicitor/client privilege will be heard August 31, 1992. Clay was suggesting that we get statements from witnesses. Roach is available to do court work.

Angie reported that she lost her motion to be able to argue abuse of process at the preliminary hearing into her immigration charge. She will be appealing the decision to the Court of Appeal.

New Business: Harry will get in touch with Dick Fidler to see if he might be available towards the end of September to speak on Quebec and the constitutional crisis.

There was also a formal exchange of opinion about the last demonstration and strike organized by the ANC in South Africa and the ethnic conflict in the former Yugoslavian republics.

Calendar read and meeting adjourned at 10:30 p.m.

FORWARD GROUP MEETING, August 20, 1992

Chair: Harry Kopyto

Meeting convened at approximately 8:35 p.m.

Attendance: Present: Lois, John Glenn, Joe Steinbok, Harry K.
Absent with reason: Art, Gord, John Darling, Angie
Codina

Minutes: M/C to postpone reading of minutes of the last meeting to the next meeting

Correspondence: None

Membership and Contacts: No report

Forward Group Bulletin: Harry reported that Jeff, Gord and he have the copy for the Bulletin prepared and in the layout stage. Harry reported that we should be able to get a copy of the Bulletin off the presses as soon as Gord comes back from holidays and the layout is completed.

Educational: M/C to move this to the end of the meeting

Treasurer's Report: balance in the account \$840

NDP Report: Lois reported on the large number of resolutions that had been struck from the party books as a result of the "sunset clause". She indicated that at the last convention, every resolution that had not been dealt with and that was more than 6 years old was dumped. She indicated that it would be desirable to analyze exactly what resolutions have now been dropped using the sunset clause procedure.

Lois also reported that in the High Park-Swansea Riding, Elaine Ziemba, Citizen Minister, was being targeted by the right wing anti-OLRA campaign, which was urging phone calls to be made to the NDP executive in the riding to put pressure on them to back down from the bill.

Joe Steinbok reported on the meeting of the Federal Search Committee in the suburbs that he is involved in. He indicated that Lennox has decided to run federally someplace. He indicated generally low interest in the ridings at the present moment with few people responding to him.

Joe also reported that the Central Leaflet that the provincial office had put out with a great deal of hoopla some months earlier, wasn't getting distributed very broadly or enthusiastically. Lois reported that distribution was being done only in apartment buildings that were easy to distribute and they were basically being dumped.

Joe also reported that a statistical analysis of the results of the NDP in the last provincial election were not being done for each riding.

Left Caucus: Lois reported that 250 leaflets were mailed out with the fund raiser and Left Caucus Newsletter advertising the BBQ on August 30. A phone list was divided up to be sent back to Lois with notations indicating the result of the contact with the person. A division of labour was established with respect to the BBQ. Joe will be in charge of food and Zane will help him if available. John Glenn will be in charge of the bar.

There was further discussion regarding the meeting discussed the previous week on Quebec and the Constitutional Crisis. It was agreed that the meeting should take place on October 10, a Saturday night with a social gathering afterwards at the campus local pub. Harry confirmed that Dick Fidler had agreed to speak. Lois was asked to book the room at the University of Toronto on Kings College Road. It was also decided that we should take some steps to build a meeting including the following:

1. try to get somebody prominent like Judy Rebick or Leo Panitch to share the meeting or introduce the speaker;
2. that we would write other groups on the left inviting them to give greetings and make a statement from the floor on the issue of Quebec and the Constitutional Question;
3. that we would write all prospective federal NDP candidates whether nominated or running for nomination and ask them to be present as well to make a statement.

Kopyto/Codina Defence: Harry reported ongoing harassment including difficulties encountered in getting the files taken from her office and home as well as refusal to consent to her absence on a date regarding the immigration charge against her.

Educational: Harry present part 2 of his education on the Transitional Program dealing with the constitutional crisis and Quebec. There was a presentation of the document with discussion on it reserved to the subsequent meeting when John Darling would be available to participate.

Calendar read and meeting adjourned at approximately 10:40 p.m.

FORWARD GROUP MEETING, September 17, 1992

Chair: John Glenn

Meeting convened at approximately 8:10 p.m.

Attendance: Present: John Glenn, John Darling, Lois,
Harry K.

Absent with reason: Gord, Zane, Angie,
Art

Minutes: M/C to adopt minutes of meeting of August 6
M/C to adopt minutes of meeting of August 20

Correspondence: Harry mentioned he had received a response from Audrey McLaughlin regarding her statement that she would enter a coalition with the liberals in which she affirmed that the NDP was running for power. He also received another letter from the same anti-Zionist who wrote him from New Brunswick, Australia.

Membership and Contacts: ^{before} Lois reported Gerry Dowson 61, took his life last Saturday in a detailed and planned manner. Unemployment and financial uncertainty as well as loss of friends and fear of illness were factors. He wanted no memorial. Gerry was determined and stubborn about this decision and could not be stopped. Lois also reported that Gerry and Ruth Houle were in this city.

Educational: M/C to have the educational on the referendum on the constitution. Harry led the discussion with significant participation and elaboration by John Darling. Various persons suggested slogans to intervene in the discussion including, ABOLITION OF THE SENATE, FOR A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, GENDER EQUALITY IN THE CONSTITUTION, FOR AN INDEPENDENT AND SOCIALIST CANADA, SELF-DETERMINATION FOR QUEBEC and LET QUEBEC DECIDE ON OCTOBER 26. We agreed that we would respond positively to Capitalist/Socialist Challenges request that we work with them because of our common position on the referendum issue. The only possible area for work or intervention would be the women's milieu.

NDP Report: There was a brief discussion on the Left Caucus panel on the referendum scheduled for 5:30 p/m/ on September 26 following the NDP provincial council meeting, and also on the October 17 Left Caucus meeting. The balance of the agenda including an evaluation of the Left Caucus barbeque, an evaluation of the Labour Day demonstration and the usual items was postponed to the next meeting.

Meeting adjourned circa 10:30 p.m.

Minutes

FORWARD GROUP MINUTES

February 2, 1993

Meeting convened at 7:50 p.m.

Attendance:

Away with reason: Joe Steinbok, Steve Shorter, Angie, John G., Zane B.

Present: John Darling, H. K., Gord Doctorow, Lois Bedard

MINUTES

Minutes of January 19, 1993, meeting adopted as amended.

BUSINESS ARISING OUT OF MINUTES

Weisleder contacted us to indicate that there appeared to be an inconsistency in our decision not to participate in the May Day SC celebration this year as we had participated in the last two years notwithstanding the fact that we had no objection to their policy of exclusion. Motion carried not to participate as an organization in sponsoring the May Day event. Comrades may attend as individuals and we should, if asked, speak or, if not asked to speak, request an opportunity to speak during which presentation we should protest the exclusionary character of the May Day event and how it contradicts the spirit of unity that characterizes May Day.

There was discussion of the proposal to have a Forward Group library available for comrades/contacts to use. Motion carried to move the books received from Bill Clinton, Joe Meslin and contributions from other comrades, including John Darling, Gord and Harry as well as Jim Mitchell into one integrated library. Gord indicated that he may have space in his basement available for such a purpose. It was agreed that it is unlikely that consistent use of the library would be feasible in the foreseeable future but that it

would be valuable to centralize the books and to maintain a record of their contents as well as to organize the library so that in the future we will have the basis for a functioning, circulating library available to comrades and contacts.

MEMBERSHIP AND CONTACTS

Gord Doctorow indicated that he would be on a leave of absence from Wednesday to Sunday following as a result of going to New Orleans with Roz.

Harry reported on contacts with people like John Clarke and Merle from the SC. He indicated that he meets these people in his work areas and that by challenging them to take traditional Trotskyist attitudes and positions on the NDP and on united front questions, there is a possibility of educating these comrades. He noted that there was a wide discrepancy of views within the SC which was functioning more as a united front in support of the Fourth International rather than as a cohesive political tendency.

EDUCATIONAL REPORT

Motion carried to postpone the Educational on the degeneration of SWP and the parallel development in Canada to the next meeting.

INTERNAL--FUTURE

Motion carried to relieve Gord of the obligation to give the Educational on the discussion of Canadian Nationalism within the movement. Circumstances have made it necessary that Gord focus in on his Ph.D., and illness in the family have made it impossible for him to give this Educational. Motion carried to have Steve Shorter give an Educational on Taylorism in the context of co-management and quality of life programs and to ask him to give this Educational at the next meeting. Motion carried to postpone Harry's Educational on the SWP and its degeneration to the meeting following the next meeting. Motion carried to consider who should give the Educational on Nationalism to the following meeting.

INTERNAL--PAST

Evaluation of Lois's Educational on Native Women and the Charter.

EDUCATIONALS--PUBLIC

Motion carried to postpone discussion of our Public Educational activities to the next meeting which is likely to be better attended.

TREASURER'S REPORT

John Darling indicated that an account has yet to be opened but will be shortly and he will be able to deposit cheques.

BULLETIN OF THE FORWARD GROUP

Motion carried to have Harry give a report on the numbers of persons who have received the Bulletin and the number of persons who have subscribed to it. Lois indicated that she would be able to give us the names of the various persons who would be able to give us the addresses of other contacts who should be receiving the Bulletin.

NDP

Harry gave a report on Hargrove's impending decision on whether or not to respond to an invitation from ONDP Provincial Council, if one were extended, to speak on the weekend of March 27-28. Various persons that he has been in touch with, including Drainville, Boyce and others have shown a willingness to add their names to an open letter inviting delegates to the Provincial Council to support the resolution passed by the St. George-St. David riding at its last membership meeting inviting Hargrove to speak which was supported by CAW activist Benedict and others including Layton.

Harry also reported on contacts with Drainville regarding disciplinary measures to be taken against persons like him who are likely to oppose NDP legislation of casinos. Drainville advised that on February 8, the NDP Legislative Caucus, which he is a member of, is going to consider approving guidelines from Bob Rae to discipline dissident MPPs including expelling them from the Caucus. Drainville

has reprinted the Left Caucus Newsletter interview with him and has indicated that his riding would review the resolution which Harry prepared to be submitted to the Provincial Council on the issue of defending dissident MPPs. The resolution was discussed at some length and revised.

Harry reported that the Left Caucus Bulletin should be available to be printed shortly.

PROVINCIAL RIDINGS

Lois reported on the meeting of her riding in St. George-St. David where she was able to get the resolution passed to invite Hargrove and the support that she received from Benedict. Harry reported that Boyce was isolated within her riding, supported the defence of Drainville, identified with the Hargrove statement and had indicated to him that Watkins and others who addressed the riding association in October had made stronger left wing statements than was reflected in the snippets that were reproduced in the riding newsletter. Copies of the 4 speeches to be made available to Harry.

CODINA & KOPYTO DEFENCE COMMITTEE

Harry reported that several persons contacted him in the last week and other persons usually contact him on a regular basis expressing an interest in assisting him in his appeal.

NEW BUSINESS

Harry reported that John Glenn had advised him that he was elected Vice-President of the OPSEIU Local which Barry heads representing part-time high school teachers. Gord gave a report on his work with Diane Meagan who has been instrumental in gathering a group of people around her and an audience to attend municipal council meetings in North York. She has made representations to Council to oppose the use of the commercial and industrial assessment tax ports for the purpose of funding all educational activities including private educational activities. She has focussed on the call for the provincial government to "revisit" the issue and has been able to get

the support of at least 2 NDP Caucus members in the area though not that of Young. Gord has maintained good working relationships with her and she has established cooperative relationships with other people that she has been able to involve as well as being able to attract audiences to Council Meeting who usually do not attend. Efforts to give publicity to this struggle has so far not been very successful.

Motion carried to adjourn meeting circa 10:30 p.m.

(Minutes of the meeting subject to approval at the next branch meeting.)

Lois filed a letter from Left Caucus Supporters in Northern Ontario including a contribution to the Left Caucus. Zane Boyd gave a report on a lengthy letter received from Harry Paine which contained various material regarding a group that Zane characterized as left reformist (Choices) and which also discusses Harry's evaluation of the NDP. The letter was summarized and there was a discussion as to some of the points raised by Harry.

MOTION CARRIED to have Zane Boyd draft a response to Harry Paine's letter.

Gord and Harry gave a report on the Mark Curtis Defence Committee and the controversy regarding whether or not he was guilty of raping a Black girl.

MOTION CARRIED to have Harry Kopyto report back after reviewing the literature received from the Committee with a recommendation as to whether we should remove our support or continue it.

MEMBERSHIP AND CONTACTS:

Lois and John Glenn reported on Gary, a contact that they met with a radical background who attended the Labour Notes Conference in the U.S. but who carries an anti-NDP line.

TREASURER'S REPORT:

No formal report was given. Comrades were urged to pay their pledges. Harry reported \$103.00 was paid for Left Caucus leaflet from his floater.

EDUCATION:

Zane Boyd on the continuation of the discussion regarding the degeneration of the Trotskyist movement in the 1960's and the 1970's. Among the objective reasons behind the radicalization was the continuation of the economic expansion until the 1973-74 period as well as the overwhelmingly youthful character of the radicalization with its strong student component. In the absence of the working class itself moving out politically during this time, these factors combined with subjective factors such as the thinness

of our cadre, decimated by the dominance of Stalinism and the impact of McCarthyism, in overwhelming our meagre forces. Additional subjective factors that contributed to the degeneration of the movement was the tendency of the Young Socialists/Ligue de Jeunes Socialistes to recruit on a low level of activism per se. Rapid growth resulted in large numbers of people being drawn in "too fast". The LSA /LSO recruited from the YS/LJS but they did that also too fast and at too low a level. It was only after the 1968-1970 period that the large number of new recruits which caused the movement to grow from 100 to close to 400 in a short period of time overwhelmed the cadre. By 1970, we were routinely promoting activists and recruiting people primarily on the basis of agreement with our basic program and activism in the area of external work. There developed at this point a lack of educational depth and those who assumed the role of the leadership were not theoretically developed Trotskyists in a rounded manner. Zane agreed that critical or inactive people were not treated as seriously as others. The additional subjective factors contributing to the debilitation of the LSO/LSA was the tendency to debate with others as if they were hardline opponents of ours, what Zane described as a tendency towards a sectarian attitude. He gave the example of the harsh way in which the "stay and fight" perspective was imposed on persons we had worked within the Waffle/MISC experience as one example of this tendency. Zane pointed out that a tendency towards dogmatism was also evident in the work that we did in the women's movement. He pointed out that we did not develop a sophisticated understanding by the majority of comrades of the fine art of intervention in a sensitive way. Zane described the "campaign" atmosphere where comrades were continually encouraged to stand up and be counted as dominant within the movement in these latter stages. In addition, we tended to embrace political work in a one-sided, formal and excessive fashion; for example, a somewhat mechanical effort to promote women comrades in a short period of time to replace the male comrades as the leaders of the movement. He figuratively referred too an inherited "masculinist" confrontational, polemical approach as dominating many of the political discussions during this period which were sometimes characterized by personal sharpness. There was a distinct tendency for the movement to become in the thinking of many of the youthful comrades an end in itself and for activities to tend to take on a super-agitational character.

Zane also pointed out that while it was true that there were no

material privileges enjoyed by the leadership of the movement during this period, there was a sense of prestige associated with being part of the leadership and there was a clear demarcation within the movement between leading comrades and members of the rank and file.

Zane felt that the objective influences which resulted in the decline of the movement and its eventual disintegration were ultimately beyond the control of the movement itself and that the difficulties developed incrementally during the period of rapid growth. Finally, Zane pointed out that in evaluating this period, it was critical to keep in mind that despite the widespread mass actions taking place during this time, the tasks before the revolutionary vanguard during this period were still propagandistic. In addition, the topic of what it is that a revolutionary movement can do in a period when the working class is not radicalizing but in which there is a significant degree of growth to sustain members deserves further consideration and exploration.

Gord made a contribution in which he pointed out that the working class failed to radicalize anywhere in the world outside of France in 1968/1969, thereby setting the tone for the entire character of the radicalization of the 1960's. He pointed out the substantial size of revolutionary groups--the Maoists numbered in the thousands--and how the movement had no choice but to move out, to build mass actions to recruit aggressively and to take advantage of all the openings before it. He pointed out that the Trotskyist movement was in competition with other tendencies during this period and abstentionism would have resulted in a retreat and decline. The unevenness of the radicalization without a significant motion in the working class was so dominant a factor that it even permeated the Fourth International resulting in the intervention of *Mandel within the Canadian section undermining our position on Canadian nationalism and our orientation to the NDP. They concurred with Zane's perception of the difficulties posed by the inheritance of an overly sharp and sometimes confrontational attitude in discussions within the movement which made it difficult for comrades to make

(*Mandel, FI leader
-ed)

mistakes, express their minority views, etc. It was pointed out by some comrades that a tendency towards defensiveness and towards a certain development of a weaving mentality within the movement amongst the leadership and the membership that continued within the leadership towards the end as having developed cliquish characteristics. Lois spoke of the intense hostility towards Trotskyism generated by the Stalinists and Social Democrats which instinctively opposed our movement irrespective of considering its positions on various issues. Harry spoke of the abstract and understanding that comrades had of Trotskyism during this period, most of us who survived were rooted in the working class, how the older generation, once having survived long enough for the youth radicalization to supplant their courses, let go in too many instances and about how activism and mass work became the central focus of the movement's efforts without due attention paid to the rounded development of cadre.

Zane summarized by emphasizing the isolation of the movement from the working class experience during this period as being central to an understanding of what happened to the LSA. He agreed that we had to respond to the mass movement but that when the radicalization began to end and when the working class failed to respond immediately, the comrades and leaders of the movement turned back on themselves and lost perspective and in many instances became demoralized.

Following the discussion, Harry suggested and a **MOTION WAS CARRIED** that Zane and he prepare a contribution to an issue of the Bulletin on the degeneration of the Trotskyist movement in the 1960's in the context of inviting other contributions from other people.

There was a discussion regarding the decision at the last meeting to have a class series. It would be of greater benefit to have this series later on towards the end of July as part of a summer class series in order to be able to take advantage of inviting the many contacts that we are making. In addition, the schedule that we adopted at our last meeting appears to be too ambitious in light of our heavy involvement in organizing the Forums Committee discussions.

REPORT TO THE FORWARD GROUP MEETING

JUNE 21, 1993

One year ago, the Left Caucus in Ontario was relatively isolated and weak. We received relatively little support at the Convention except for Harry who received a protest vote on the issues of OLRA, public auto insurance and Sunday work. Our efforts to maintain monthly meetings attracted virtually nobody so that we had to stop them. Though we had effective distributions and intervened in the previous Council meetings with three well-received leaflets and aggressively promoted our last convention issue of the Left Caucus Newsletter, we were unable to consolidate any operations with new people or ongoing structures.

Over the last six months we have successfully established the Left Caucus through a united front for an open discussion. We were successful in receiving media attention for a statement supported by dissident MMPs and social activists challenging the drifting of the Rae Government to the right which statement presaged much of the current difficulties and despite baiting by Rae himself, attracted considerable interest and some support among Party activists. We were able to reestablish the Left Caucus through a united front formation for a discussion picking up the theme of this statement and making enough connections to have 35 persons come to a Left Caucus meeting at the March Provincial Council as well as focus a great deal of attention on the Council meeting itself. Since that time, we have held meetings of the Forums Committee virtually on a weekly basis, with attendance as high as 20 on some

occasions, consolidated connections with at least 10 persons who are actively involved in the Committee and who are not members of our tendency including riding and local presidents, reestablished our credibility with people like Watkins and others through our Forum program which has included representatives from a wide range of persons within the Party and are on the way to consolidating an ongoing operation. We have leafleted at least a dozen major rallies with over 10,000 statements or flyers, faxed close to 1,000 letters and leaflets to various union locals, gained about 100 new contacts for the Left Caucus, many of them outside of Toronto so that we have not been able to do much with them and pulled off two successful forums, one successful fundraiser, established connections with militants in the Plumbers Union and established ourselves as a source of opposition among trade unionists and riding activist to the drifting of the Party.

However, we have gone into debt several thousand dollars in order to achieve this situation, we have failed to establish an ongoing daily operation in order to organize our forum program and have been uneven in our intervention at Council meetings. Much of the work has fallen on a few comrades with others playing a minimal role in our work due to unique circumstances in each case.

The political situation existing during the period when we have

moved out as described above has been one where the labour leadership has either supported or not opposed the Party and Government leadership on the central issues facing the Party including negotiations with public service workers within the Party itself. It has been one where the Party leadership itself has moved to the left in order to encompass the pressures from the trade union bureaucracy and take a distance from the Government, thereby undermining, in the mind of many Party activists, the need for an independent Left grouping. It has been a period when the membership has generally become demoralized, walked away or quit the Party rather than recommitted itself to changing it. It has been a period when the Party has tightened its control over its structures, excluding our literature from its mailing, systematically baiting some of us, censoring our article from the Democrat and tightening its procedural rules to block us from speaking or even appearing as delegates at Council meetings. We have thus been swimming against the stream, even taking on too much when others have retreated or stood by waiting for the situation to unfold. We have developed a tendency to substitute ourselves for the opposition which is objectively needed to the drifting of the Government and taking on more than we needed to. In some cases this has or may lead to exhaustion, dissipation and overextension.

The only other opponent of political tendencies involved in NDP work are the Militant Group, three of whose members participated in our Left Caucus meeting at Gananoque, the Communist League which set up a book table at our second forum but did not participate in the discussion inside, and Socialist Challenge which has consolidated relationships with Peter Cassidy who works for Mark Morrow and has set up a grandiose-sounding Coalition for a People's Agenda which is really based on SC members and contacts and which is not in practice seeking to do serious inside work with the NDP despite professing to do so.

We have to retreat during the next two or three months as the Social Contract Act kicks in and raises the struggle on to a higher level into a more modest agenda. We need to accelerate our educational rather than agitational work, providing an explanation for the Bob Rae phenomenon and consolidating contacts that we have made including relationships with new activists. Overall, this projection can be fulfilled by organizing a conference in October or November to follow the next Provincial Council meeting while exercising educational work and maintaining contact with the new people who have come around the Forums Committee in the past. In particular, the structure of the Forums Committee can be maintained in order to initiate the call for such a conference along with others and we need to attempt to develop a coherent unified and structured committee which can play a primarily educational rather than agitational role in the coming period as the gulf between labour and the NDP opens widely after the phony unity which currently exists dissipates.

(archive ends)

MINUTES OF THE FORWARD GROUP MEETING
October 5, 1993

Meeting commenced at 7:50 p.m. at 318 Richmond Street West.

MOTION CARRIED to adopt Agenda.

Chairperson: John Darling

Attendance: Gord, Harry K., John Darling, Lois Bedard

Away with reason: Joe Steinbok, John Glenn

MINUTES:

Minutes of July 5th Forward Group meeting adopted as read.

Memo of July 22, 1993, adopted.

Minutes of September 21st adopted as amended. The minutes should be amended to reflect the fact that McLaughlin's campaign federally in the current election is a radical campaign oriented to the working class. She is focusing on the key issues and even the television ads are clear and class oriented.

BUSINESS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES:

There was a discussion of the earlier decision regarding a memorial meeting for Ann Olsen. The suggestion was made that some comrades might want to make a donation to the Left Caucus in her memory as Joyce has already done since it appears that no such memorial meeting is likely to take place.

It would appear that there is no basis for establishing that Zane took any money out of the Forums Committee improperly and that the method of operation during the period of the Forums Committee as far as financial matters were concerned were not itemized and documented enough. **MOTION CARRIED** that Harry speak to Anne so the matter may be finally clarified with Zane.

Hans Modlich is not running in Don Valley West. It looks like Dave Tomszack is not responding to our efforts to get him to review Wayne's book in *Our Times* and we will have to respond to it in the coming issue of the *Bulletin*.

Lois Bedard has sent several Left Caucus Newsletters to various people who she felt might respond to the financial appeal. **MOTION CARRIED** that a copy of the Left Caucus Newsletter should be sent to *The Tribune*.

Terry Murphy is considering doing his Ph.D. thesis on the history of the Canadian Trotskyist movement. **MOTION CARRIED** that we advise him that we are prepared to sit down with him to see if and how we might be able to help him with this project depending upon what his thesis might be.

Lois reported on the death of a longtime Canadian Trotskyist who had identified with the movement in British Columbia and a **MOTION WAS CARRIED** that we approach his widow to see if it might be possible to obtain whatever records he might have to form part of the archival material that we are attempting to collect

CONTACTS

Willie Lambert was friendly to us when we saw him on the anti-NAFTA demonstration at Niagara Falls last weekend. He is running in Oakville and he did not expect assistance from us as he did not request workers or funds but we might have an opportunity to drop in to his campaign just to express our solidarity with him.

EDUCATIONAL

Harry presented an Educational on Quebec and Canadian nationalism. Copies of the material were given to comrades earlier. There was a full discussion regarding the matters raised in Harry's Educational. The question was posed whether Canadian nationalism has played only a progressive role since the second world war and whether or not it played a progressive role prior to the second world war. It was pointed out that the issue of a conscript army resulted in Quebecers identifying with a Canadian nationalist in interest distinct from that of the Queen and British Imperialism. Their anti-imperialist consciousness took on a Canadian nationalism rather than a Quebec nationalist form at that time. It was only when the integration into United States took place to a greater extent, that Quebec Nationalism emerged no longer seeing the possibility of anglophobe Canada being able to protect or express their interest. An ambivalence to English Canada developed coincidentally with the reality that there was no difference in dealing with the United States or English Canada as far as preserving their culture or language was concerned among the Quebecois. Quebec nationalism's locus in Canadian nationalism outgrew that nationalism as the Canadian anglophone bourgeoisie

permitted the integration of Canada into the United States. The failure of the governments of central Canada to move against U.S. domination coincided with the growth of Quebec nationalism. This analysis accords with the views of Maurice Spector and other pioneers of early Canadian Trotskyism on the question of Canadian nationalism.

Quebec nationalism in the form of the Quiet Revolution was accompanied by an acceleration of the application and development of technology, CEGEPS, etc. Quebec nationalism therefore developed in opposition to Catholic neophobia which characterized the Duplessis era and its development coincided with the working class developing unity, maturity, a sense of itself as a class and its emergence as an economic and political force capable of playing a leading role in the context of Quebec.

Reference was also made in the Educational to Mendel's description of Canada as an imperialized imperialism in an effort to express the contradictory nature of Canada's national status.

Attention was also drawn in the discussion to the exceptional development of the Canadian state. It is well known that the Canadian state facilitated the penetration of foreign capital into the Canadian economy and played a critical role in creating and unifying a market for such capital in contrast to the classical development in other countries where indigenous capital usually uses the state in order to protect itself and exclude the influence of foreign capital. This has also been the case with respect to bourgeoisie and financial institutions in Canada who have also enthusiastically facilitated the penetration of foreign capital into Canada. The Canadian bourgeoisie have facilitated Canada becoming part of the U.S. and developing as a market economy for U.S. capitalists. The capitalists in Canada have therefore used the state in order to enhance continentalization. Workers and petty bourgeois intellectuals however have resisted the use of the state for that purpose feeling very much threatened by the United States which dominates Canada both economically and culturally. Therefore an objective conflict has developed between the interests of the Canadian working class and petty bourgeoisie and the continentalist interests of the Canadian capitalist class.

The former have targeted those who control the state and use it to develop a Canadian market economy which the United States can exploit as antithetical to their interests.

The above analysis has been outlined in greater detail by Ross Dowson, Tom Naylor and further elaborated on various points along the same lines though by and large, the rest of the Canadian nationalist left has failed to make any significant contribution and appreciation of this phenomenon in history.

With respect to the nationalism of the NDP, it was pointed out that essentially it is contradictory. On the one hand, the NDP leadership includes people such as David Lewis and so on who are essentially reformist, tended to identify with the Canadian state which they wish to head and govern. As this institution was sacred in their eyes, essentially they would oppose any forces that threatened the integrity of the state. Accordingly, the anti-Quebecois nationalist position of the right wing NDP leadership reflects this interest.

On the other hand, the NDP as a labour based Party with roots in the working class also tends to reflect the significant fight of major unions including the steelworkers union and others against the continentalist cutbacks and distortions of Canada's economy and workers' rights. This therefore imbues the NDP with a nationalist orientation that flows from the objective counter position of the NDP's working class base against the U.S. continentalist capitalist forces and their Canadian junior partners. The NDP's position in favour of the YES vote in the referendum as well as its position on Meech reflect the petty bourgeoisie nationalism of its leadership.

It was pointed out that while Quebec yearns for integrating itself into an international francophonie, that is, an alliance with other francophone countries which would give Quebec its place in the sun and enable it to reach out to new trade patterns which would not threaten it culturally, and which would make it more powerful, such an outlook is essentially utopian. It is logical for Quebec to produce for the North American, especially U.S. market with which it is geographically contiguous.

Quebec nationalism may well no longer be based on the objective cultural linguistic and economic oppression of the people of Quebec. Both the Quebec bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie appear to have developed as stronger social forces in Quebec at present than at any time in the past. Yet the nationalist sentiment within Quebec and the yearning for sovereignty appear to be stronger than ever.

The nationalism within Quebec also has different sources. For example, the big bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie in Quebec by and large look forward to free trade and to growing economic integration with the U.S. This tends to express itself in a pro-free trade position. On the other hand, all the major trade unions and working class forces within Quebec are opposed to NAFTA and the growth of free trade. They reflect their own class interest against U.S. continentalism in so doing. Along the same lines, the intelligencia and cultural circles within Quebec also resist domination by the United States as they see Canadian culture totally dominated outside of Quebec and understand the U.S. domination would threaten the cultural and linguistic survival of Quebec.

For a period of time, Bourassa and others have used the power of the state in order to increase the specific gravity of Quebec's big bourgeoisie in the North American economy; specifically, its vast resources including hydro power. They see this as a major bargaining chip in their dealings with U.S. capitalism.

For Quebec workers however, free trade means more unemployment and importing the contradictions and distortions of the U.S. economy, making them oppose further continental integration. So while the Quebec bourgeoisie throws in its lot with the U.S. and engages in state capitalist type of measures in order to promote its interests, the working class in Quebec by embracing Quebec nationalism resists U.S. domination as well as English Canadian domination and free trade.

It was pointed out in the discussion that the fundamental basis for Quebec nationalism in the 1990's which as pointed out in the Educational has grown to a magnitude which appears to be unstoppable is now more psychological than objective. The frustration of constitutional negotiations and renegotiations over decades have resulted in ennui in which large numbers of Quebecois simply want to assert their identity without asking as a precondition that the English recognize their right as a nation. Hence the placidness and serene maturity of the Quebec nationalist movement and its widespread base in which sovereignty is no longer something to be bargained for but to be asserted by a population full of resentment and played-out by the constitutional games. For revolutions, there is logic in "getting rid of the national question so that the class question can be put forward" and the nationalist movement is progressive.

While the U.S. would prefer to have Quebec as part of a common country called Canada, it has ways of dealing with an independent Quebec state as well. The Quebecois do not see English Canada as a bulwark in order to preserve their culture any more. They do not see the English Canadian state as defending their culture from the United States. They see the anglophone-dominated state as effectively dominated by the U.S. and have no preference for it as opposed to the U.S. in their economic or other dealings.

Quebec's move towards separation and sovereignty exposes the weakness of the Canadian state and a failure of the Canadian state to assert the interests of Canadians as a homogenous entity. The capitulation of the Canadian state to free trade has caused the Quebecois to become indifferent to being part of Canada at the present conjunctural state point. The Charlottetown Accord was to a great extent an effort by the central state to exert greater control over the Quebecois. However, the subjective and psychological dimensions of Canadian nationalism, always considered critical by anglophone Marxists in evaluating their attitude towards nationalism, all militate in favour of independence. The United States as indicated above, does see a benefit in Quebec

being part of Canada and sees an independent Quebec as being both costly and unstable. It would pose a tactical problem to U.S. capitalism to have an independent Quebec. This is because it would reinforce the class question, accelerate the radicalization of English Canadians and raise fundamental questions regarding the kind of state that both anglophones and francophones should strive for.

The next Educational will be on the Native question.

NDP REPORT

Lois reported on a meeting at McGill 21 where a panel discussion took place including 70 people. She elaborated further on the demonstration that took place in Niagara Falls against free trade in which Bob White and Jessie Jackson joined hands in a common anti-NAFTA protest. Three hundred copies of the *Left Caucus Newsletter* were distributed to a receptive crowd. John Glenn was also there helping distribute. Lois also reported on a NAC meeting to listen to the television debate the night earlier.

Gord reported on David Lu's campaign and the distance that Lu has taken from Bob Rae.

It was agreed that Audrey McLaughlin was running a message oriented and militant campaign but that the campaign was faltering because of severe disillusionment with the provincial parties which has resulted in the federal NDP's credibility being eroded. The sense is that there is too little and too late being done in order to resurrect the NDP. The Reform Party is obtaining support for confused reasons and overall, it has to be said that the right-wing has not been able to emerge definitively as a serious alternative in a clear fashion during the election campaign. It is apparent that from the time that the NDP supported the YES side in the Referendum, it had become identified in the minds of the public as part of the old line parties which is a critical factor in continuing to weaken it at present. While labour has not left the NDP and is participating in the election, such participation is weak. Hargrove was even booed in front of a CAW audience for calling upon the workers to support the anti-NAFTA party--the NDP. Notwithstanding this fact, there is no clear victory of the right, only confusion among the working class. The Liberals are continuing with a leftish campaign but there is no movement and no sense of force behind the Liberal party or Reform. As well, there is no force, momentum or movement behind the NDP in Ontario, the campaign is in fact being run substantially by volunteer labour with widespread layoffs of full-timers because of the economic crisis within the Party.

Rodriguez sin his riding up north is distancing himself from anti-NAFTA positions because of the unemployment situation in his riding. Harry reported that he had sent numerous copies of the evaluation of the NDP carried in the latest issue of the *Left Caucus Newsletter* to various media.

KOPYTO/CODINA DEFENCE

Angie and Marken will be arguing Harry's appeal from his disbarment on October 12th, Courtroom 3, Divisional Court. He also expects to be moving in a few days.

NEW BUSINESS

It was decided to donate funds to the Left Caucus in order help John Darling meet his bills on the account owing to him.

Calendar was read and the meeting adjourned circa 10:10 p.m.

Minutes subject to adoption

MINUTES OF THE FORWARD GROUP MEETING

November 2, 1993

Meeting convened at 8:00 p.m. at Lois's

Present: Joyce Rosenthal, Charles Anderson, David Tomczak, Lois Bedard, Harry Kopyto, John Glenn, Steve Shorter, Gord Doctorow, Ross Dowson *

It was announced that this was a special meeting of the Forward Group to discuss the political situation in Canada in light of the election results. A **MOTION** was **CARRIED** that we divide the discussion starting with the Reform Party, Quebec, the Tory collapse, the Liberal sweep and the NDP results. Balance of Agenda to be modified. **MOTION CARRIED** to adopt outline for discussion.

REFORM PARTY:

It was generally agreed that the vote for the Reform Party did not represent a classic right-wing vote. While the dominant strain in the movement was the free enterprisist oil patch movement of Western capitalists, the Reform Party vote also signified a protest vote attracted by the populist demagoguery of the Manning leadership, regional disaffection, a protest vote for backward workers and a transference of the traditional right-wing vote of the Conservatives. Objectively however, the role of the Reform as a spoiler for an established bourgeois party and its decisive rejection of compromise with Quebec gives the Reform Party an anti-state character, makes it a bourgeois maverick analogous to Manning's period and makes it dangerous for the central bourgeoisie to depend on and contributes to the existing crisis of the bourgeois state in Canada because in large part of its anti-Quebec stance. The Reform vote represented confusion among workers. It was distinguishable from the classic rightist formation headed by Le Pen in France and in fact, the Reform Party blunted its racism, dismissing a racist Ontario candidate and ran an East Asian in British Columbia. Manning represented a right-wing populist strain similar to his father's containing a heavy element of populism. Attacks on central power, bureaucratic privileges, Parliamentary pseudo-democracy and recommendations of governments by referendum and ongoing electoral consultation including recall of Parliamentary deputies all found a resonance albeit limited, within sectors of the population. Though essentially representing a non-unitary and syncretic vote, the anti-Quebec thrust of the Reform Party heralds a period of destabilization if it continues to eclipse the Conservative Party with a vote that eroded significantly. Upper middle class Tories voted Reform in many cases. In Ontario it replaced the Conservative Party as the second or third runnerup. The Reform Party has the potential of becoming an ordinary bourgeois party. It also has the potential of exacerbating the centrifugal forces within Canada and currently

*(*in wheelchair, unable to speak-ed.)*

represents a split within the bourgeoisie. It did well in urban centres during election vote such as Calgary in the West and benefited from the position against the Charlottetown Accord which it took and which defined its populism.

BLOC QUEBECOIS PARTY

The Bloc Quebecois Party took 49% of the vote in Quebec in absolute terms winning majorities which went into the 60's and 70's percentage rates in both rural and urban Quebec centres. It virtually wiped out the Conservative Party, swept francophone working class areas and won a stunning victory given the previous number of members of Parliament it had.

The assumption by the Bloc Quebecois of a position of Official Opposition poses an embarrassment to the Canadian state internationally and will undoubtedly constitutionalize politics in the immediate future. The Bloc Quebecois' success reflects dramatically the crisis of the bourgeois state in Canada. The leadership of the Bloc Quebecois is petit bourgeois aspiring to be bourgeois. Its base and roots go into the working class and the trade union apparatus. At its base, it is anti-NAFTA though the feelings against NAFTA have been mollified by the relative irrelevance of the issue of free trade to the Quebecois who already see English Canada absorbed by the U.S. for all practical purposes.

The sense in Quebec is that English Canada is more irrelevant than a real enemy. There is a sense that self-determination is already assured and that it is only a matter of time before it takes on the political form of sovereignty. The Quebecois no longer see their job as trying to convince the English to let them have rights--they just simply have decided they would go ahead and exercise those rights. In addition, it can be pointed out that the Bloc Quebecois really have a character of an electoral united front of various forces backing sovereignty but that in no way can it be said that trade unions had control though obvious Duceppe and other trade unionists are well established in the B.Q. apparatus.

The leadership of both the P.Q. and the B.Q. have no attachment to Canada and see themselves as the future leaders of a strong capitalist Quebec which can survive independently. They see the working class and the petit bourgeoisie as well as the bourgeoisie having a common and independent Quebec and to that extent, Quebec nationalism in its unresolved form is held by the petit bourgeoisie, a leadership role in the social sphere which they would not have in an independent Quebec. Quebec nationalism also has emerged as a barrier to unity of the English and French working class. The English working class is much more likely to respect the Quebec workers when they are separate but equal and not cast in an adversarial role by manipulators of state machinery. A cold separation is the only feasible variant.

The B.Q. has adopted a program of liberal reform that puts it on the left and has absorbed the remnants of the Quebec NDP for the present time.

There was some disagreement over the prospects of the success of Quebec nationalism. The projections of the nationalist movement is to win a victory against the Liberals under the leadership of an unattractive Daniel Johnson, sometime between the spring and fall of next year, then to have a referendum in March of 1995 to be followed on June 23 of that year with a declaration of sovereignty. It was suggested that the Liberal Party might be able to thwart this scheme by attaching a referendum question to the vote in the coming Provincial elections. Others suggested that the Liberal Party without Bourrassa was weak and unable to succeed.

It was generally agreed that the B.Q. smashed the alliance between the Provincial Liberals and Federal Tories irreversibly in that support for a sovereignist option had been consistently high for a period in excess of two years.

It was also pointed out that the Quebec bourgeoisie have adopted a statist approach to economic development, seeking to realize its advantages by cashing in on Quebec's resources in their dealings with the U.S. and have split the Liberal Party, with the Allaire forces incapable of playing an independent role.

TORY COLLAPSE:

The Conservative Party may be finished forever as a Party if Quebec separates. The collapse of the Conservative Party may signal the decline of this Party as an instrument of bourgeois rule especially if Quebec separates so that the unique Tory connection built up by Mulroney with Quebec disappears permanently.

Essentially, the rejection of the Conservative Party symbolized a desire by the Canadian working class to reject cutbacks and an emphasis on deficit reduction at the expense of creating jobs. It marked a rejection of the corporate right-wing agenda emphasizing once again that the mood within the Canadian body politic as exemplified in the election was not right-wing. In Ontario, in approximately 37 ridings, the Tory and Reform Party vote together would have been enough to block the Liberals. In eastern Canada, the Conservative Party was rejected largely out of a fear of cutbacks and social services and the desire to have funds spent on public works to create employment. In Quebec, the Bloc Quebecois, by tapping the nationalist sentiment, completely swamped the Tories. As well, the BQ's promise to create jobs played a role. In Ontario, the vote was split as indicated and, out west, the Reform Party ate away at the traditional Tory vote.

The Conservative Party became the symbol of elitism and was

perceived as right-wing though it still was able to get 1.6 million votes. Many of the anti-Tory votes reflected a contiguity in rejecting the elitism of the Tories during the Charlottetown referendum campaign up to and including Campbell's elitism as well. The collapse of this Party indicates that there has been a total destruction of traditional voting patterns and a period of instability is likely to be seen in the future for the two-party system.

LIBERAL SWEEP:

The Liberal Party campaign was essentially a reform oriented campaign in which it emphasized public works and deemphasized cutbacks and the deficit in fact speaking about the protection of social programs, the cancellation of the helicopter deal, etc. The bulk of the bourgeoisie supported the Liberals in this election campaign in the hope of stabilizing a majority government around Chretien, especially in light of the uncertainty in Quebec and with the Reform Party. Though the bourgeoisie wanted stability and for that reason supported the Liberal Party in its bulk, they did so notwithstanding the fact that Tories had a clearer programme amicable to the corporate agenda. Thus, the bourgeoisie was split but with the largest proportion of it supporting the Liberals. Large number of working people across Canada voted for the Liberals in the hope that they would come across with protecting their interests and stop the cutbacks. In most regions of Canada, the Liberals also received the vote of the upper classes who saw the Liberals representing stability. Though the Liberals did well, nowhere was there a real sense of movement towards the Liberal Party or a coalescence of large numbers of persons attending Liberal Party meetings, etc. In other words, no social forces moved organically into the Liberal Party but rather it was seen as the least unattractive of the parties available to be voted for.

NDP:

The NDP lost its official status and suffered a stunning defeat from which it may not recover because it was seen as an old-line party stemming from its identification with the Mulroney Tories back in October of last year around the Charlottetown Accord debate. The NDP vote collapsed to 7% with nine seats. Outside of Saskatchewan it was virtually wiped out. To the extent that anybody still voted for the NDP, it was only in the areas with solid working class concentrations. The NDP was seen as irrelevant by most workers because it had lost any credibility as a result of the breach of trust committed by the three Provincial governments who all, to one extent or another, abandoning their programme. The degree of loss of Federal seats by the NDP corresponded to the degree to which the different Provincial NDP governments abandoned their programme with Ontario experiencing the biggest wipeout and

Saskatchewan the least. For workers angry with the Liberals and Tories, especially in British Columbia, the Reform Party, not the NDP, was seen as a vehicle to express rejection of the established political leaders. In Quebec, the NDP was totally wiped out with its vote going to the B.Q., largely because of its failure to support Quebec sovereignty. Even key NDP activists ran for the B.Q. in the election. Workers in Ontario in industrial centres either saw the NDP as a smaller conservative party having gone through the experience with Rae and concluded that the NDP had the same politics as the Tories, or were seen as a small Liberal party seeing the NDP's emphasis on job creation and negligence of social services and medicare as a reflection of the Liberal Party's positions and choosing to vote Liberal because of the discredited and ambiguous condition of the NDP. Labour scarcely had a presence during the campaign and it certainly didn't have an influence on the trade union vote.

There was a disagreement over whether or not the NDP ran a class-oriented campaign. Dave Tomczak identified the NDP campaign as poll-driven and opportunistic led by a disastrous, incompetent, inexperienced leader who shifted horses in mid stream. Gord Doctorow described the essential programme that the NDP ran on Keynesian. Harry identified the campaign as issue-oriented and appealing to the working class but unable to overcome the overwhelming impact of the betrayal of the Provincial governments. The NDP took correct positions on free trade but was not able to sell that position after McLaughlin became discredited last year when she shared the Yes side in the Charlottetown Accord campaign with Mulroney just as he was heading down to Texas to co-sign a pro-free trade agreement with Bush. As well, the free trade issue was seen as a settled matter by many Canadians explaining also the limited vote received by the National Party. Tomczak described the NDP's operation as top down and unfocused. He criticized McLaughlin for having no presence and being lacklustre and criticized her for being ineffectual, inexperienced and out of touch and described the election strategy of the NDP as bankrupt. Others described the attitude of workers to the NDP as cynical. There was a real question as to whether or not the Federal NDP will be able to survive.

FORUMS COMMITTEE:

Gord gave a report on the next meeting of the Forums Committee. He said that we had to hit out politically at the labour leadership for the purpose of opening up a discussion on the future of political action for the labour movement. He suggested we refocus the earlier suggested conference so that it focuses on the future of the left and that it be scaled down from having a large number of concurrent workshops which would be too big a project for us. We have to start with the understanding that the left is shattered and that the conference therefore should see itself as simply

assessing the possibilities and trying to get disparate elements of the left that are at loose ends working together on key problems. He said the conference has been able to begin to make the connections necessary to broaden out the discussion.

KOPYTO/CODINA DEFENCE:

Angie has Clay Ruby representing her on her appeal on the immigration charge. Her next court appearance on the Legal Aid fraud charge is December 15th to set a date and she is appearing before the Law Society which will decide on whether Harry is competent to represent her sometime in December.

Calendar was read and meeting adjourned circa 10:30 p.m.

Subject

to

approval

MINUTES OF THE FORWARD GROUP MEETING

December 15, 1993

Meeting commenced at 7:45 p.m.

ATTENDANCE:

Present: Lois Bedard, Harry Kopyto, Gord Doctorow, John Darling

Late: Joe Steinbok

Absent with reason: John Glenn

Chairperson:

MEMBERSHIP AND CONTACTS

Zane dropped out of York University. It looks like he is losing all serious perspective. Ingrid does not seem to appreciate the problems that he has. Hans Modlich's participation in our meeting last week showed a great deal of respect that he has for our norms. Harry's jocular comment that we sometimes don't obey them ourselves was inappropriate.

CORRESPONDENCE

Harry reported on growing activity around the police reform issue with a women against police violence group joining activities around Municipal Councillor Roger Hollander and Mark Wainberg. Lois mentioned that we will see more of this as Municipal activists gear up for the election next year (1994).

There was discussion about Bryan Palmer's letter which appeared quite friendly and open to doing a history on Trotskyism. **MOTION CARRIED** to contact Palmer with respect to what we should do with our material. The guiding principle should be that we want to maintain privileged access to it but we do not wish to have the materials lost. Ideally the documents should be available under supervision in the presence of a photocopy machine. Gord Doctorow commented briefly on two lengthy letters received from Harry Paine to which we have not responded. **MOTION CARRIED** to not proceed with our regular Educational and instead have a presentation by Gord Doctorow on the contents of and response to Harry Paine's first letter.

FINANCES

Two thousand five hundred dollars is owed to Action Print as a result of the Left Caucus debt. It is not appropriate that we accept the responsibility for this debt on an individual basis as it would hinder our ability to move out politically in the future and also, some comrades may not be able to pay or be in as good a

position to pay a portion of it as others. However, from funds presently in existence with the Left Caucus and with a contribution from the Forward, we would be in a position to pay \$1,000.00 at present. The balance could be raised through selling shirts or other items to politically conscious people in order to liquidate the debt. Harry's suggestion that we organize socials to raise money was rejected on the basis that socials primarily are valuable for our contact work and do not have the effect of raising funds. **MOTION CARRIED** to use volunteer labour and cheaper production methods working in consultation with John Darling when we put out our Left Caucus Newsletters in the future. **MOTION CARRIED** that we begin to engage in fundraising activities involving selling T-shirts, patterned on the good success that Oriole NDP Provincial Riding Association has had for example in so doing. **MOTION CARRIED** to release the amount of \$500.00 immediately from the Forward Group account to Action Print to the Left Caucus so that it can help meet its debt. **MOTION CARRIED** to encourage the Left Caucus to make a contribution as well.

EDUCATIONAL

Gord Doctorow presented an outline of Harry Paine's Educational reading his first letter in its entirety while commenting on portions of it. In particular, Gord dealt with the point that Harry seems to feel that there are no significant differences between the SC and Forward Group on the question of the NDP. Gord pointed out that the interest of Socialist Challenge in the NDP is superficial. They see a struggle brewing within the NDP. They see OPSEU and others taking on the steel brass, at least in terms of statements from the leaders of these Unions. They interpret these critical comments as being evidence of a coming fissure brewing within the NDP so, opportunistically, they seek to intervene in order to make gains. It is just the same old smash-and-grab operation, this time based on a total lack of understanding of the profoundly limited possibilities within the NDP as shown by the widespread demoralization within its ranks and the low level of its activity if not its current semi-moribund status. The SC is not moving closer to the NDP with anything which even amounts faintly to a strategic orientation. They have raised no transitional demands and in fact at the last Provincial Council meeting based their strategy on a trap set by the right wing to have an organizational challenge to the leadership by asking for the date of the convention to be moved up--a challenge engineered now it seems by the leadership in order to forestall any possibilities of real discussion within the Party. Socialist Challenge has done absolutely nothing to build the Left Caucus. They have done absolutely nothing to build the Forums Committee and have played no role in it. They are not able and willing to build any forces other than themselves. Their convention has been one of either consistent sectarianism counterposing revolutionary ideology to social democracy or opportunism as was the case with Barry's speech at the last Provincial Council meeting in which he did not even

mention the Social Contract issue--the central concern of whatever dissident elements there remain within the NDP and of its dissident trade union base.

Gord expressed the feeling that it was not necessarily the case that the Liberals will defeat the Tories in future elections. While we lack the information needed to make a careful assessment of all the factors, it would appear that the NDP retains the possibilities of exhibiting considerable life yet. For example, it made critical gains in bi-elections in Manitoba recently.

Harry's comments based upon Joe Flexer's inside information from the CAW were of considerable interest but need to be assessed within the framework of the lack of credibility that Joe Flexer has with respect to accurately reporting real possibilities and his own exaggerated infatuation with the CAW. In fact, at least in Ontario, there are no forces whatever moving in the direction of creating a new labour party. There are only at most three or four contacts of the SC in the trade union movement who might be carrying such a line. There is certainly no motion or perspective to move in this direction on the part of any Union whatever. This has been so despite the fact that some key leaders in the public sector unions raised the possibility of a new party as a "threat" when they were still trying to get the NDP to back off its Social Contract legislation.

Harry Paine's comments about the inappropriateness of holding a public forum on the history of Trotskyism are generally correct. He appears not to have appreciated that we were speaking about an internal class series aimed for a few close contacts such as Chuck who have come around us and are asking questions about the origin of our Group. Such an essentially internal discussion is necessary in order to educate our close periphery with whom we do not have the occasion to maintain consistent contact otherwise. We accept without question that as a tiny group, we cannot play a broad role in the class struggle and that a public forum on the issue of Trotskyism would clearly be inappropriate. Gord pointed out that Harry Paine continues to make extremely intelligent and worthwhile comments, especially with respect to his grasp and conveying of ideas regarding the history of the NDP. However, his views that the union movement is on the decline appear to be inaccurate. Unusual for a time of recession, the Union movement has been growing every single year over the past few years by as much as two or three percent. New sectors of the service industry and women are becoming unionized as never before--Harry mentioned that the projectionists' union for example, was unionizing ushers in Cineplex theatres in Toronto and others mentioned unions being formed at McDonald's, etc. There have been significant unifications within the trade union movement including the teamsters joining the CLC. Union leaders continue to play a role in the NDP and in fact are doing so now more than ever in light of the tremendous pressure upon the NDP from the bourgeoisie. When

there was a walkout from the O F of L, the Union leaders were expressing support for the NDP leadership and the five hundred or so delegates who walked out with them were expressing support for the NDP. For those who stayed, many of them stayed because they were rejecting the Rae leadership, not the NDP. There appears to have been a tendency among some to reject political affiliation and action totally. This current is far from dominant and expresses the crisis of leadership within the labour movement.

Nor can it be said as Harry Paine suggests that the NDP that the NDP has been a mollifying factor on radical activists. This observation on its own is incomplete. It cannot be said that the radical left, by and large, has regrouped itself in community groups or activist groups outside of the NDP. People like Jim Turk, Judy Darcy and Peter Warrian have found a place within the NDP, though, of course, they have to one extent or another compromised themselves in their living arrangements with the NDP leadership. Many of them however maintain, to one extent or another, a commitment to radicalism and act as a resistance against dropping a radical perspective. This was seen when several of them joined in a coalition against police abuse. Several participants were full-time NDP employees as well as OFL full-timers. This shows the possibilities that they had and their true desires though many succumbed under the pressure of their objective circumstances to inactivity and withdrawal from the coalition.

Gord expressed the view that perhaps Harry's comments about the significance of the women's movement and the contribution that it has made over the decades has been somewhat magnified. Without detracting from the sharpness and impetus given to the class struggle as a result of the dramatic and unprecedented increase of women into the labour force, the fact remains that other social movements--the movement against racism, the movement in favour of protecting the environment, the movement against war, have all had a major and lasting impact on the class struggle to a significant extent. There is no basis for creating a mystique about the women's movement, which incidentally has also exhibited historical weaknesses such as failing to mobilize as a social force to obtain Morgentaler's release from jail.

It is not true that the NDP is just like the Liberals and Tories. The NDP, in power or out, retains an identical character in terms of its social contradictions. It takes one step forward as with the Labour Relations Act but two steps back as with the Social Contract Act, expressing the diversity of pressures upon it, the weakness of its resistance to bourgeois pressures but its difficulty if not impossibility of totally cutting itself off from its organic links to the trade union movement. The NDP in the last election probably had a higher working class vote than at any other time as an absolute percentage of its support. This was clearly visible at Gananoque where the steel delegates held a caucus and basically ran the show. It was also true at the December

Provincial Council meeting where steel and food workers launched an attack on public criticism of the NDP by other NDPers.

There was a discussion of Harry Paine's comments about the threat posed by the evangelist movement. It was in Gord's opinion exaggerated though others pointed out that broad support for evangelism outside of urban areas. The consensus of the comments of the comrades appear to be that the movement was not posing a serious, immediate threat and had even suffered setbacks as a result of the exposure of corruption.

The trade union leadership has never played or had a stronger presence in the NDP than they do the present in Ontario. By and large, the trade union leadership has attempted to bring the social policies and programmes of the NDP on a wide variety of issues including women's issues, gay rights, housing, municipal issues, etc., into the trade union movement trying their best to win support for these demands among their membership. However, Bob Rae could not have gone so far without the political backing of the right wing trade union bureaucracy. It is OFL President Gordon Wilson's tripartism that Bob Rae is currently implementing. Julie Davis' resignation from the presidency of the ONDP was at most symbolic. There is no pragmatic course to "doing the right thing". Socialism exhibits leaps and bounds. It is true that the NDP won power in September, 1990, in Ontario with a narrow-based electoral victory but it took no steps to build itself as a movement, to defend itself aggressively, to unify the forces behind it, to mobilize in defence of a few simple demands that would be readily understood and supported, to publish an alternate paper, to deepen and broaden the support that it had shown it could tap among the working class.

With respect to the centrality of social movements and the weakness of the trade union movement, it was pointed out that there were no mass social movements in existence at present playing a central role in the Canadian state. The trade union movement has not suffered a defeat as the U.S. trade union movement has in some ways and some unions are growing boldly and aggressively.

A number of points were made during the discussion on the letter from Harry Paine as well as Gord's comments. It was pointed out that Dave Tomczak was right at our earlier meeting to point out that the NDP membership put up very little fight against the right wing drift of the NDP. There is a softness in the class and it expresses itself to a certain extent by the difficulties shown by hesitancy of the base of the NDP fighting back. It was pointed out that equity measures had been attacked by some sectors of the labour movement. It was pointed out that overall, the trade union leadership has tried to justify the NDP's policies on equity and social policies. It is wrong to characterize the trade union movement as being composed largely of job trusts. To say that CUPE and the CAW are exceptions is to open the door to very large

exceptions. The critical factor remains that the trade union movement and the organized working class continues to occupy the central point of economic power and is the most vital economic force under capitalism. Community and social organizations, far from being at a high level, are currently in a serious state of crisis and are at an extremely low level, both of understanding and leadership, cohesion and unification. Many of these groups are barely hanging on in the Metro area. It can hardly be said that they could be a base for the unification of the class forces at present. Reformists are hanging on in these organizations by default.

It was pointed out that the SC does not have any long-term solutions or strategic orientations. They do not raise and apply transitional demands. Will Offley in a major feature article in response to John's letter in the last issue of SC paper, states "Regardless of whatever riding we choose, we run against the NDP. We seek its political defeat." Joining the SC would put us in a position of constantly being baited, challenged to prove ourselves and drain us of whatever limited energy we now have as an organization composed of older comrades. Lois Bedard pointed out that the social movements are still tied to the NDP. She explained that the feminists in Canada now felt locked out from being privy to information and support now that the NDP is no longer an official party. She mentioned the historic inspiration that the anti-war movement also received from people like Pauline Jewitt in the past. She pointed out how the community groups tended to be dominated in her experience by upwardly-mobile, middle class types. Without any clout in a time of recession, a lot of these groups ensured that petty bourgeois persons sit on the boards of directors or are represented there in order to be able to more effectively obtain concessions from government agencies. Gord mentioned the classic situation of how the presence of petty bourgeois elements in the Toronto housing movement has enabled co-op housing in Metro to obtain more concessions and better quality housing than the Ontario Housing Corporation. Some of the best people who came out from the community organizing movement such as Carol Ann Wright have chosen to withdraw rather than carry on a fight within community organizations. By and large, Liberals dominate these organizations. Lois pointed out that community movements by their very nature are opportunistic as they seek to encompass all persons within the community, compromising interest between people of different social classes. Their experience has suggested that their leaders are often self-appointed and upwardly mobile using these movements for networking or as a beginning of a career in politics.

Youth in the current situation also show very little consistency or commitment to revolutionary politics. The basic rule is that they move in and out of groups. Charles Roach pointed out that the best and most active militant Black youths radicalized five years ago in protest against the shooting of Donaldson and others were all

bought out by government projects. There is an inconsistency in the student movement. Anti-Racist Action (ARA) points out the real difficulties of trying to organize youth with its ultra-leftist and sectarian strategy and leadership. It was pointed out in the discussion that the co-op movement which has middle class persons living in units has avoided being ghettoized like the OHC has. It was pointed out that community organizations require a working class base to reflect consistently progressive interests. It was pointed out that self-appointed leaders such as in the Black Action Defence Committee are not necessarily bad but simply reflect the crisis of leadership within working class communities or social organizations. It was pointed out that when Bob White speaks of an alliance with community organizations, he is reflecting to a certain extent pressures to protect social services and economic infrastructure in order to keep the economy going. There are auto towns and steel towns in which the trade union movement has accepted responsibility for medical clinics and other social services. Loss of jobs undermines consumerism and the possibility of economic vitality in these communities, threatening the destruction of entire working class communities. It was pointed out that the youth movement is largely narrow and inward-turned at present and far from playing a revolutionary role or on the cutting edge. Gord pointed out how Roshelle Carnegie who works for Bob Rae reflects a paradigm of the crisis experienced by persons rooted in the community but committed to the NDP. Instead of openly defending the leadership in the Black community, she experiences their vulnerability and isolation and seeks to defend whatever gains the Black community has within the government and the NDP establishment figures such as Bob Rae. These organizations therefore have come under the influence of the NDP and trade union movement as part of their self-defence measures.

MOTION CARRIED to refer the balance of the Educational to the next Forward Group meeting.

KOPYTO/CODINA DEFENCE

Harry will appeal the December 13, 1993, decision of the Law Society forbidding him from representing Angie in proceedings against her. She will have to hire somebody to represent her in the meantime possibly. She is next in Court on January 14 on the Legal Aid charges. Clay Ruby is representing her on her immigration appeal.

NEW BUSINESS

The Socialist Scholars Conference will be meeting June 15th featuring Judy Rebick and women's issues. There was a discussion of sending modified minutes to contacts such as Ron and Colleen Dixon and Dick Prencip but it was decided not to. Gord Doctorow and John Glenn will definitely contact Leo Panitch to discuss

regrouping our forces for the April Forums for Socialist Alternatives Conference.

It was pointed out that Winnie Eng, Angie and others were calling for the federal riding clusters that had formed during the last federal election campaign to reconvene. It seems that some people are posing the need to separate the federal ridings separately from the Provincial ridings. It is worthwhile for our comrades to participate in these meetings and discussions as the federal Party will be holding its convention in August, 1994. Harry has been asked to give a report on the lineup for the next issue of Forward. It was agreed that we would try to get the next issue out as soon as possible. John Darling photocopied a paper written by Dan Heap assessing the current situation in the NDP which Gord thinks means that Dan Heap may be a live number for us to have speak at the proposed Socialist Forums Conference in April (see copy enclosed).

Meeting adjourned circa 10:00 p.m.

Minutes subject to approval.

MINUTES OF THE FORWARD GROUP MEETING
January 8, 1994

Present: John Glenn, John Darling, Lois, Harry

Away with Reason: Gord Doctorow and Joe Steinbok are ill

MINUTES:

MOTION CARRIED to postpone to the next meeting adoption of Minutes of January 12, 1994.

(date
error
-ed)

MEMBERSHIP AND CONTACTS:

Harry mentioned that Bill Walsh had called him and was sending a contribution. He also mentioned that Sheila Steele had written and sent him a video in which she recounted incidents in 1970 which could have resulted from RCMP harassment. There was a discussion about asking Coleen Glynn and Ron Dickson to become formally members at large. We should write them indicating what this would mean since they politically agree with us. It would mean that we would appeal to them for financial support, would ask them to work out a political line in accordance with the principles of democratic centralism which would be on the basis of mutual agreement, that we would make decisions in consultation with them and that they would get copies of our minutes.

CORRESPONDENCE:

Lois reported on supporters of the Socialist Scholars Conference in Toronto organizing a meeting for an upcoming Saturday. She had received a note regarding this from Frank Cunningham from the U. of T. Philosophy Department. John Glenn reported that Barry Weisleder was organizing forums on Thursdays.

NDP:

John Glenn reported on a meeting of the OPSEU group that Barry Weisleder is heading which is moving in an alternate direction. Thirty-two people in attendance including people like Jason Baines,

Peter Cassidy, Dan Heap, persons from OPSEU and LLBO unions under Barry's influence, McKay, etc. They are planning essentially to set up another organization which can organize a conference to build a party as an alternative to the NDP. Many of the people present came out of curiosity or could be considered to be the homeless of the left. They are planning another meeting on March 1st. We should however intervene in this milieu through the Forums Committee in order to build support for our conference. It is apparent that Barry Weisleder has turned his position from supporting the NDP in the context of trying to challenge the NDP leadership within the Party to one of attacking the NDP for hanging on to the coattails of the Liberals and simply presenting themselves as better able at job creation. By and large, the group around him are not going anywhere and are putting forward a hopeless, deadend perspective.

John Glenn indicated that his riding wants to hold a joint Federal-Provincial Riding meeting.

DISCUSSION OF FORUMS COMMITTEE:

There was a general suggestion by Harry that we were not progressing quickly enough for setting up the conference and that we lacked a coordinator. The discussion reaffirmed the importance of proceeding with the conference, the importance of setting a cutoff date to contact the initial endorsers and Lois indicated her willingness to act as a coordinator. It was agreed that we should probably postpone the conference however several weeks to enable us to make it happen and to coincide with the CLC convention.

Lois reported on the NDP letter being circulated by Ann Adelson, a copy of which is enclosed which is a left wing critique directed to the Federal Party. She indicated that a meeting was taking place of various persons who might want to revitalize the Federal riding clusters to organize a separate organizational forum for the NDP. Meeting adjourned circa 9:30 p.m. Minutes subject to approval.

(ends)

MINUTES OF THE FORWARD GROUP MEETING
January 24, 1994

Present: Lois, Gord, John Darling, Harry Kopyto

Away with Reason: John Glenn, Joe Steinbok

MINUTES:

Minutes of December 15, 1993, adopted as information.
Minutes of January 12, 1994, adopted.

BUSINESS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES:

There was a discussion of Federal NDP clusters. Lois Bedard mentioned that Ann Edelman was a Federal delegate for the Federal clusters from Metro and that she was co-chairperson of the Metro cluster of Federal ridings. She has written a left-wing letter. Lois also tabled a letter from the Federal Secretary, Fraser Green, dated January 10th entitled Defining Social Democracy for the Next Century and presented as a discussion paper for the Federal NDP Executive. It emphasized grass roots organizing, discussion pools and the importance of redefining Canadian social democracy. The proposals are to produce a statement of purpose, to apply our principles to the current situation and to stimulate the party (see document enclosed).

CORRESPONDENCE:

A letter was received from Brian Palmer (see copy of letter undated enclosed). There was a general discussion on how we should respond to it. There were three issues that were raised by his letter. One involved classifying our records. The next one involved cross-referencing our material with material in established archives. The final item involved committing ourselves to referencing materials in Ontario that we have. We will have to have another discussion regarding this matter after determining if any funds are available to do this work (Lois suggested that her birthday party funds might be available to assist in the project, and we should

have a further discussion on who might be the best person to do this work, what are realistic time lines and how soon we might be able to complete this work (it was suggested as late in the summer as possible might be the most realistic deadline). There was a discussion as to whether Jim Mitchell, Art Gray or others might be available to do the work. It was also agreed that we would write Palmer back thanking him for his letter indicating that it was discussed very seriously, indicating that we were working on some kind of reference system and that we will get back to him with a definite date as soon as we have been able to take a hold of the project and define the persons and resources available.

FORUMS COMMITTEE:

We are still in the process of contacting the persons Leo Panich suggested we contact. John Glenn will get in touch with McLlelland, Ann and Lois will get in touch with Nick De Carlo. Helen Rosenthal will get in touch with Kellerman, Gord is contacting Sam Ginden. There will be a meeting on February 10, 1994, at Ann Emmett's place of the Forums Committee.

EDUCATIONAL DISCUSSION:

Gord presented a critique on Harry's draft of an article which was a contribution to an ongoing discussion in the pages of the Bulletin on the reconstitution and unification of the forces of the revolutionary left. The following points were made in the discussion by Gord and others:

--in the 1960's youth were looking more for a direct route rather than a shortcut to revolutionary action. In the U.S., the SWP always saw itself as a political party giving rise to a stronger tendency towards vanguardism whereas here we always saw ourselves as a league. In the U.S. to an extent there was an illusion that the SWP was a party. The SWP was more FI-oriented than we were and saw the FI creating the rebirth of revolutionary parties. Therefore there was a greater linking of their organization to

concepts of parties and world parties.

Mandel did not use his cross-country tour to attack the LSA but did so later in another context. During the tour, he carried the line that Canada was an imperialized imperialism agreeing that Canada was not a third world colonial country which was our view as well. The series of fractures and unifications within the LSA/LSO took place in the early 1970's, not in the 1960's.

It is not true that the movement tended to intervene insensitively around the creation of a campaign atmosphere or that it was overly confrontational and polemical. The tendency to act in this manner was more characteristic of the early 1970's and our movement behaved in a principled and appropriate way in dealing with persons who were totally hostile to us, such as the Stalinist and the anti-war movement during the 1950's and 1960's. Similarly, the tendency to embrace political work formally is somewhat overemphasized in Harry's paper.

With respect to the achievements during this period, it should be noted that until the unwanted intervention of the International, the youth section was a dynamic and healthy formation through which almost every single student leader of any significance either had to pass through or define himself in relation to. One of our most important achievements was to influence the anti-war movement and radicalization which we were a dynamic force in by implementing our methods of mass organization and mobilization. The ultra left RMG eventually was attracted to us on this basis but disintegrated with the denouement of the world youth radicalization in the early 1970's. It should also be pointed out that the labour leadership did not strictly follow our line but that our general focus on linking the student and youth movement to the labour movement which happened more in the 1970's was anticipated by us.

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Harry's article should also emphasize more the unevenness in the conditions which resulted in the crisis of leadership of the Workers' Movement.

NEW BUSINESS:

Harry reported on the difficulty Peter Rosenthal was having defending Dudley Laws.

Calendar was read and meeting was adjourned circa 10:00 p.m.

September 20, 1994

Meeting commenced at 8:10 p.m.

Chair

John Glenn

Attendance: Lois Bedard, John Darling, John Glenn,
Gord Doctorow, Harry Kopyto, Joe Steinbok

MINUTES:

MOTION CARRIED: to adopt minutes of July 26, 1994 meeting as amended.

MOTION CARRIED: to send a copy of the Eulogy prepared by Gord Doctorow and presented by Harry Kopyto at the funeral services for comrade Vic Hugh and a copy of the ad published by the family in the Toronto Star to the comrades.

MOTION CARRIED: to postpone adoption of the minutes of June 28, 1994, to the next meeting.

MEMBERSHIP and CORRESPONDENCE:

\$150.00 had been received by the Left Caucus in donations in the mail. The \$250.00 which Ron Hugh indicated had been received and designated for the Left Caucus has not been received. Harry K. is to call Ron to advise him that if it had been mailed, it has not been received.

Lois reported on a contact around the N.D.P. that she met at the hospital where Ross is being treated. He gave her an internal document and appeared to be quite critical of the N.D.P. leadership.

Lois reported that Kevin Robertson is still with us though he is a father now and being part of a family has limited his energy.

EDUCATIONAL:

There was a general discussion on the election results in Quebec which was led by Gord. The pro-sovereignist vote was in excess of 50% in a polarized campaign which saw the Liberal party consolidate its hold over the non-francophone vote and which resulted in the P.Q. being elected more because of its position than as a result of any motion generated toward it. It was pointed out that a poll on the eve of the election showed that 55% of persons questioned indicated that neither of the two main parties were meeting their concerns. Containing an amalgam of supporters from Harel to Hir, the P.Q. represents a united front in favour of sovereignty led by a petti bourgeois technocratic leadership which promoted a program of Liberal reforms which did not go beyond the vision of an independent capitalist Quebec state.

It was suggested that the P.Q. leadership felt that it did not have to mobilize its base to win the election. For example, they held the victory party in a theatre hall instead of hockey arena, there was an absence of mobilizations or mass demonstrations visible around the time of the Mouvement Quebecois for a referendum on sovereignty only two years ago, etc. It is impossible to assess the results of the election without knowing the rate of participation but in the absence of a mobilization behind the P.Q., close to 6% vote in favour of minority parties and the absence of a distinct image for the P.Q., (visible for example in the debate between the leaderships in August), suggests that, by and large,

the young militants were not inspired to participate in what was a phlegmatic campaign. The fundamental contradiction was illustrated by the fact that tens of thousands of civil servants in Quebec who remembered how Parizzeau had cut back jobs and frozen salaries only a little more than 10 years earlier did not have a more militant option for electoral participation than Parizzeau once again.

It was pointed out that the P.Q. was highly unlikely to abide by a mechanical 8 to 10 month formula for the promised referendum. The reins on state power will give the P.Q. an advantage in a referendum which it did not have in the election. In addition, the P.Q. will benefit in the referendum by having the central axis of the debate revolve around an anglophone state-dominated Ottawa bureaucracy against Quebec City rather than differences among political leaders within Quebec as was the case during the election. There was the sense that the P.Q., dominated by a petty bourgeois leadership, could witness that leadership direct its efforts toward a mobilization during the pre-referendum and referendum periods. Unlike the situation prior to the election. It was agreed that Chretien would certainly mobilize in favour of rejection and that Quebec politics faced a renewed period of militancy. In this context, the constituent assembly slogan which we have raised and refined over the years takes on an even more significant urgency and must become a central concept for our intervention within anglophone Canada.

N.D.P.

Municipal Report

It was pointed out that in a couple of ridings persons to the left of the N.D.P. were running against it. One of those was Nick Marchese who played a role in the Forums Committee and who advocates a clear socialist orientation. Discussion followed as to whether we should support Marchese. Discussion adjourned so that Lois could make enquiries of contacts around the labour council to see what their position would be.

It was further noted that Layton is running again for councillor, that Hollander is not running and that Barbara Hall is clearly emerging as the candidate with the support and endorsement of labour and the N.D.P. municipal machine. Her decision not to run on the N.D.P. label (while retaining her membership card in the N.D.P.) and to bring on board her campaign left Liberal party types as well as others behind her election machine does not invalidate the fact that she is the labour alternative in the Toronto mayoralty campaign.

Federal Report

Lois reported on the August 27th, 28th Federal Party Conference organized in Ottawa. This was a disorganized and highly manipulated conference which minimized possibilities of discussion and ended up becoming a cheerleading session designed to motivate those present to work more actively in the party and fundraise. Several hundreds of persons who attended, including many from the Toronto area, were not told that the next Federal Council discussion would be held in Toronto in December thereby resulting in expenditures of travel costs and other expenses for those who would have preferred to attend the December meeting had they known it would take place rather than travel to Ottawa. There were numerous pep talks with limited opportunities for members to participate and contributions limited to 3 minutes. Many of the panel discussions which dominated the workshops involved the so-called "new wave" of N.D.P. thinkers--rehashed right-wingers advocating dumping whatever progressive elements were left in the N.D.P. program in favour of deficit-fighting, etc. It was suggested during the discussion that a section of the N.D.P.

leadership had clearly become demoralized by the abject electoral failure of the Party and tempted to adapt to the pressures from the right. One sign of the erosion of the material base of the Federal Party bureaucracy was the sale of the Federal N.D.P. headquarters building to Ukraine to be used as an embassy. Steve Langdon unfortunately did not and has not developed a rounded challenge to the N.D.P.'s drift to the right limiting his intervention to calling on the N.D.P. to retain its character as a movement and criticizing the decision to postpone the Federal Convention as undemocratic. At the present time, so far, the Federal party has not emerged as a point of regroupment for the left despite the fact that several left activists were present and former Manitoba N.D.P. Premier Pawley, who has been taking left positions for some time, called on the N.D.P. to take on the banks and keep its direction to the left.

Provincial Report

No one attended the Weisleder luncheon last Saturday designed to discuss intervention at the upcoming N.D.P. Provincial Convention. However, it is highly unlikely that he will intervene effectively at the upcoming convention in Hamilton this November. Left elements such as the C.A.W. which could play a role decided not to support the N.D.P. as long as it does not drop the Social Contract Act. The Party's Provincial Council has been literally reduced to a chorus of approval by seals and it was pointed out that ultra-loyalist Dan McKenzie and the steelworkers brass were circulating a position paper within the Provincial Party directed to those people in the labour movement who want to form an alliance with activists in the social movements as an alternative to working in the N.D.P. He warns such labour leaders that the activists are dominated by Trotskyists and old-time Stalinists and invoked red-baiting on a significant scale which has not been seen for a long time.

With respect to the N.D.P. Convention itself, it has been difficult if not impossible for comrades to become delegates. We should however approach Barry Weisleder to find out what he is doing and discuss the possibility of some kind of cooperation with him. Our intervention however cannot be agitational and must focus on educational work. Under the circumstances, a leaflet would be the most appropriate form for our intervention which could be put out in the name of the Left Caucus with its approval. It cannot rely on initiatives from Weisleder at the Convention as his thinking continues to be mechanistic and is likely to isolate him.

As to the contents of the leaflet, we have to point out that the Rae leadership has taken the N.D.P. where no previous leader has gone before--towards a political formation which would no longer be tied to the labour movement. Rae promoted slavishly the idea that the N.D.P. in government could play the role of a mediator acting fairly to all parties. Initially the N.D.P. in its first budget refused to make workers pay for the recession. But as time went on, as capital mobilized against the Ontario government, as Conrad Black threatened a capital strike, as thousands of police officers demonstrated at Queen's Park, as the billboard and newspapers campaigns including ads in New York's financial papers against the N.D.P. government proliferated, the N.D.P. leadership caved in, destroying the very sense of solidarity which impelled it into power. It is now in a state of disarray where it has sent welfare cops to harass the poor, pitted public workers against private workers and abandoned serious implementation of its employment and pay equity commitments.

The petty bourgeois nature of the N.D.P. leadership has always been hostile to the idea that working people should take control of state power into their own hands, wrest control from the technocrats serving the establishment and solve their problems through democratic workers' control. The lesson over the last five

years is that the N.D.P. has failed to mobilize its base to defend its program. It has been too timid and fearful of mobilizing its base to defend itself. Eventually, it was left vulnerable to attacks from the right to which it finally caved in. It is now in a state of tatters and ruin having destroyed the sense of solidarity which held it together and having denied working people the opportunity to exercise real power.

Rae attempts to blame the unpopularity of the N.D.P. (17% in the polls) on inexperience and naivete and is suggesting the Party grew "more realistic" in exercising the levers of state power. "The alternatives are worse" is his only defence. But it is unlikely that an election could be won solely by repeating that the N.D.P. is not as bad as its opposition. The reality is that the N.D.P. has not attempted independent mass action to defend itself having been trapped in the machinations of Parliament. The end result has been that the N.D.P. has moved in the opposite direction from what was needed, undermining solidarity. Its manoeuvres have not worked and the idea that the N.D.P. leadership could govern the whole system more fairly and effectively has isolated the Party in all quarters. The idea that a new centrist majority could be built as a base for the Party has been a mirage exposing Rae's own naivete to all except for members of the job trust and reducing working people to spectators to the machinations of the brilliant boy wonder. The only alternative that remains is to mobilize the N.D.P. as an independent movement behind the progressive elements of its program. Then workers and unemployed, victims of police abuse and minorities can form a coalition to win the N.D.P. as a party back to its roots. Only then can working people once again pose the need for power to be put in their hands and only then can solidarity be rebuilt.

MOTION CARRIED to adopt the general line of the report, to ask Harry to draft a leaflet to be used at the Convention to be made available at our next branch meeting and not to bother setting up a literature table at the November Convention.

CODINA/KOPYTO DEFENCE:

Harry is still waiting for a date for his Application for Leave to Appeal his disbarment. Angie's preliminary hearing is continuing with some problems of representation.

NEW BUSINESS:

John Glenn reported that his OPSEU Local headed by Barry Weisleder is getting ready for a strike (deadline October 14th). There will be a meeting soon in which his local composed of part-time teachers will decide whether to strike over health and disability issues as well as other related issues involving benefits. John Glenn has also substantially completed his Ph.D. in History and hopes to have his thesis completed later this year.

Congratulations were extended to John Darling who managed to place first in an international competition involving representatives from 43 countries. The competition was for surf sailing for those 55 years and over.

Gord has handed in his thesis and will be defending it shortly and should attain his doctorate within months.

Calendar was read and meeting was adjourned circa 10:35 p.m.